1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920) 1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11
Kusase

837 allow her to return.' He cuts the fowl's throat and lets the blood
783 drop on the shrine, and next holds the fluttering chicken against the
765 woman's waist-strings which he cuts through. The woman then runs off to the house of the senior wife of the section-head, followed by a man with a whip; 'if he likes her, he will not flog her too severely'. There she is given new waist-strings.

765 The next morning, after 'the going out of the widows', one arrow
768 out of the quiver of the deceased is given to each surviving brother. The remainder, with the quiver, are then given to the deceased's eldest son, who will divide them between his brothers and himself. If the deceased had two bows, one of these will be given to a male friend of the dead man, with whom he used to hunt. The second bow is taken to the cross-roads and cut in pieces by the heir. The leather of the quiver is stripped off, cut in pieces, and thrown away. 'The funeral custom is now ended' (*kur naya*).

764 *Funeral Custom of a Clanswoman who dies in her Husband's Town*: 'If
602 my daughter falls ill, her husband will report to me or to her mother, and one of my wives will go there and stay with her. If there is not a good doctor in her town, her husband will ask me to send one. If she dies, a message is sent to me at once, when my brothers, their wives, my sons and daughter, and others from my section, will set off at once and go to her town. I do not go myself, that is forbidden, my younger brother, however, will go. They will bring back the calabash which contains the water with which the corpse was bathed. If her husband's people are few, her "brothers" will help in bathing the body, and if my daughter has not any sons-in-law to help in digging the grave, my sons, her brothers, will also assist to do so. When the body has been bathed, it is removed to the *zɔŋ* hut and rubbed with shea butter and the head shaved,[1] and *biug* fibre is passed between the legs. My younger brother will then take three stalks of *mwi* (rice) and brush one across her arms and say: "When you were alive, you had our taboos (*kyisug*); this you have to carry back to our fathers". He brushes the rest of the stalks down the right side, the left side, her breasts, and last of all, the back, repeating these words each time. These stalks are then placed on the calabash which contains the water in which she was bathed. The corpse is then carried out through the door of the *zɔŋ* hut and "shown" the compound four times—they do not trouble to

[302 [1] That of male corpse is also shaved. When a man's wife dies, the husband and
171] children shave at the *ku-kwosem* funeral, and when a man dies, the widows and children shave their heads. The same custom prevails among the Nankani.

I: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11
Kusase

carry it round. The body is carried by her sons-in-law to the grave, or if she has not any, by her husband's brothers and brothers' sons. When the grave is reached, the body is taken out of the mat; a *baya* (sexton) enters the grave and receives the body which is laid on the left side, facing west. If the husband of my daughter is a rich man, he will kill a goat for my brothers, who, when they have skinned it, may return him a hind leg. This, however, he may refuse to accept, as he may be hoping I will give him another of my daughters. He also gives them fowls and guinea-fowls, one a dead one. On the way back from the funeral custom, they will halt near our town and kill and roast and eat all these but one. This they do, because if they were to bring them home, there would not be so much for them. One guinea-fowl they bring home, also the calabash of water with which the body has been bathed. The guinea-fowl is given to the dead girl's mother and any of my unmarried daughters. The calabash containing the water is buried in the compound farm and this becomes her grave. It is buried by a *baya*. I, her father, will kill a fowl and a guinea-fowl over it. First the heads are knocked against the ground and then I cut their throats saying: "So-and-so (naming the dead woman) take your fowl and guinea-fowl; ask for a way to pass and ask blessings (*malog*) for us". This sacrifice is cooked outside the compound, and every one, even small children, may eat of it. After that no attention is given to the grave; fowls may scratch over it.'

An old woman who has had many children will have the *ku-dar* and *ku-kwoem* just as a man, but a young woman will not.

When a man's wife dies, he is not allowed to have intercourse with his other wives until the final obsequies of his wife have been held. 'If he did so, any infant upon whom he looked would die.' The man would have something called *gaba* (exactly the same name and same custom is found among the Nankanse). 'If he were even to look on a calf it would die. I have not had sexual intercourse with any of my wives for over a year', said a widower to me, the final funeral custom of whose wife had not yet been held. When the time for the *ku-kwoem* funeral ceremony arrives, the sisters of the dead woman will take one of the three pots used for a hearth, the dead woman's porridge stick, her old broom, a red earthen pot called *kay* (Nankane *kaleya*), her calabash spoon (*bea*), her upper grinding stone (*ni-kan*), and go with all these to the cross-roads. When they arrive there one of the women will raise the shrill *kyeliy* cry of women, and those carrying these things will cast them down. When they return, they

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

CHAPTER V

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NAMOOS

The Distinctive Ritual Observances of the Namoos

602 648 CLUSTERED about the chain of sub-clans that makes up the clan of Mosuor biis are a number of other Namoo communities. None of them has ties of clanship with Mosuor biis; yet the latter speak of them as *ti buurət*, our stock, or *ti mabiis*, our kin. The emphasis here is on the common Mampuru origin claimed for all Namoos. It is widely known among the Tallensi that groups of people claiming to be of Mampuru origin are found scattered throughout the Northern Territories and the adjacent parts of the French Haute Volta. Though they have no political or social ties with them, Tale Namoos assert that they are of the same stock (*buurət*) as the Mossi in French territory, the Dagomba in British territory, and the various clans claiming Mampuru origin among the Gorisi, the Namnam, the Kusaasi, the Bulisi, and other neighbouring groups.

171 784 Whether or no these people reached their present locations by migration from Mampurugu, it is a fact that they all have certain ritual observances in common, and most of them keep up quasi-political or ceremonial ties with the dominant section of the Mamprusi, who share these distinctive ritual observances. In all these groups of people a man's first-born son and first-born daughter may not eat the domestic fowl, are forbidden, during their father's lifetime, to wear any of his garments or his quiver [764] and to enter or even look into his granary. Amongst all of them a man's corpse is girded with a goatskin loin-cover (*ba suona buu*) ritually decorated with three cowrie shells; and one of their most solemn oaths is to swear by 'my father and his goatskin and his three cowrie shells (*mba ni u buuhi u ligəri ata*)'—a reference to this burial custom.

184 784 These are infallible tests. A number of other ritual observances and doctrines mostly connected with mortuary and funeral ceremonies are also distinctive of Namoos. Thus, if a man is survived by his first-born son and daughter, or by either, special rites are performed to release them from the taboo on using their father's garments, weapons, and granary; and the concluding rites of a Namoo funeral are also distinctive. But these ritual observances and the notions connected with them vary in detail and nuance from clan to clan and even between segments of a single clan. Some Namoo clans and clan segments have discriminative totems similar to those of non-Namoo clans in addition to the first-born child's avoidances. They may be totems associated with the locality in which they have settled, as for instance the leopard avoidance of the people of Dkoog (Winkogo); or they may be totems symbolizing the mythical event to which the clan or lineage in question attributes its original differentiation from other like units, as, for instance, the avoidance of the crocodile (*baŋ*) by one major segment of Bayana yidəm at Sie. Special myths often validate these avoidances, which serve thus to distinguish a particular clan or lineage from other Namoos in Taleland.

[P.66]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

lineage is also a region where different fields of clanship overlap. This is what gives it its intercalary functions (see Diagram on p. 86). 618x

Quasi-Clanship: Joking Partnership

Beyond the lineage's field of clanship lies a zone of social relations with which it has no constituted ties. For example, Zubiuŋ has no constituted ties with Zandoya. When Pal of Zubiuŋ abducted the young wife of a Zandoya man, this was his justification for an act which would have been considered an outrage if she had been the wife of a Ba'ari man. Again, when Saɣabo of Kpata'ar clandestinely brought home the wife of a Gorogo man, the elders of his lineage were ready to shield him. A few months later another youth of the same lineage eloped with the wife of a man belonging to a linked lineage, and the same elders peremptorily sent her home to her former husband.

Somewhere between clanship and potential enmity come two other kinds of ties belonging to the same class of structural relations as clanship and generally accounted for as arising out of some form of kinship (*mabiirət*). Each clan among the Talis, and in some cases a particular maximal lineage, has one or more joking partnerships with other clans or lineages. Thus Ba'ari has a joking partnership with Gorogo, Zubiuŋ with Sakpee and Gundaat, Kpata'ar with Wakii, Degal with Samiit, and so forth. The natives describe these relationships in the following terms. They say, 'We tease one another (*ti kiehət ni taaba*)', or 'We abuse one another (*ti turc taaba*)'. If they are asked for an explanation they say, 'It is laughter (*la'at*)', 'it is brother-in-lawship (*dakiirət*)'. Talking of it always raises a grin. 618x 602

The joking partnership has two conventional modes of expression. When, for example, a Ba'ari man meets a Gorogo man or woman on a path by chance they abuse each other with impunity, in such terms as 'you ugly thing (*bonlɔrəga*)', or 'you good for nothing (*boŋwari*)', or some similar objurgation. Spoken in anger, these are deadly insults. Between joking partners, who shout them out with mock seriousness, they arouse only a roar of laughter. As we have noted, the natives compare them with the joking relationship of affines of the same generation. A man will tease his wife's brother (*dakii*) or sister (*dakii-pɔk*) or his sister's husband (*dakii*) or a clansman's wife in this way, and a woman her brother's wife (*pɔɣakii*) or her husband's sister (*pɔɣakii*), to the amusement of both.[1]

The other gesture of privileged aggression which is a convention of the joking partnership I once observed at a Zubiuŋ funeral. A cow had been slaughtered in honour of the deceased, and the elders were distributing the meat. A huge crowd of people had gathered, as is usual, for the occasion, and the tumult was indescribable. The division of the meat was still in progress. This process is always accompanied by loud and what appears to be truculent argument. Suddenly a youth sprang forward from the middle of the crowd, snatched the leg of a sheep, and sprinted off at top speed. There was a moment's consternation, and then an uproar. Laughing and shouting taunts and mockery at the top of their voices, the crowd looked on as one of the most respected elders of Zubiuŋ dashed off 618x 764 602

[1] But marriage is not prohibited between joking partners.

[582]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Talensi FE11

seizing it by violence, almost as if they were hostile intruders. *Sunzɔp* have *a priori* no need of force to assert their privileges; if they did resort to it the affront would be so grave as to rupture the ties of clanship with them. Unrelated strangers could only get one of the shares due to *sunzɔp* if they had the temerity to seize it—but they would be fortunate if they escaped with their lives, even in these days of curbed passions. The mock aggression of a joking partner is a caricature blending these contradictory ways of behaviour.

Joking partners are not obliged to tease one another. They do so spontaneously when the situation seems appropriate. People who are greatly unequal in years or status, or personally related by cognatic kinship, will not act in this way. The joking partnership merely fixes the group with whose members such behaviour is appropriate in appropriate circumstances; a casual encounter, for instance, where anybody but a joking partner or a close kinsman would be met with the customary greeting—'*ni i tooma*', lit. 'with your work'. It is also appropriate, as we have seen, in situations such as funeral ceremonies, where there is a very strict determination of attendance and behaviour by clearly defined social ties. But even there joking partners turn up largely by chance. They happen to be passing, or a few young men, hearing of the funeral and knowing that there will be dancing and girls, go for the lark of it. For distant *sunzɔp*, too, attendance at funeral ceremonies is very often a matter of chance, but it is also very often the result of a decision by responsible elders.

Such institutionalized joking partnerships do not appear to exist among the Namoos. This may be correlated with the less elaborate interlocking of constituted ties and cleavages among them than among the Talis. An analogous practice which throws light on the ideas implicit in standardized joking partnership was, however, in vogue among the several branches of Mosuor biis until recently. When there was a funeral at Yaməlɔg a party of relatives-in-law (*deenam*) would sometimes pass through Tongo from Wakii or Tɛnzugu carrying the obligatory food contributions consisting of a basket of porridge and a whole sheep or goat cut up and cooked. Tongo youths would then, if they had a chance, intercept them and compel them to give up most of the food, leaving only a small portion to prove to the Yaməlɔg people that their relatives-in-law had discharged their obligations. The Yaməlɔg people would naturally be indignant; they would denounce the Tongo youths as thieves and rascals, and upbraid their relatives-in-law for yielding so timorously. Then they would wait for an opportunity to recoup themselves in kind. Next time a similar party of relatives-in-law bound for Tongo from Nabərug passed through Yaməlɔg they would be waylaid and robbed in the same way. It was thought of as a practical joke, and accepted as such by the victims. The annoyance it caused soon blew over and did not leave a lasting grudge, for it was understood to be an exaggerated enforcement of the rights of *sunzɔp* to a prescribed share of such contributions if they happened to turn up at the funeral.

In the same way, twenty years ago, a Tongo man who chanced to be passing through Yaməlɔg when the guinea corn was ripening or the

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

602 608 618 ground-nuts ready for harvesting, might pluck a few twigs of guinea corn or pull up a bunch of ground-nuts to stay his hunger. He would shout out, 'Whose corn is this, yo-o-o? I am going to pluck some.' The owner, standing on his flat roof, would probably remonstrate and swear, but he would not raise a hue and cry, for this was not theft but an exaggerated assertion of clanship ties. Nowadays, since the political [578] jealousies between the chiefs of Tongo and of Yamələg have brought about a state of chronic hostility between the two places, this pleasant custom has fallen into disuse. It is impossible to tease people with whom one has open or suppressed enmity; it would certainly provoke a fight.

618 Such liberties, it is of interest to note, could never be taken with the people of Sie or Biuk, though they, too, are the clan *sunzop* of Tongo. For, as my informants explained, 'they are too far away, and therefore they would resent it'. On the other hand, while any Tongo man can pluck a handful of guinea corn or a bunch of ground-nuts from a clansman's field at Tongo if the two men are on good terms, no one would dare to intercept the food contribution of another Tongo section's relatives-in-law. A serious quarrel would inevitably result. 'We are too near each other, we are like the members of a single family', explained my informants. Every segment of Tongo is likely to be represented at the funeral ceremony at which these contributions from relatives-in-law are shared, to claim the share due to it. For any segment to anticipate this by violence would be a gratuitous insult implying that the other segments do not respect its rights. The people of Yamələg and of Sie used to act in the same way towards each other before the political jealousies that to-day poison their relationship arose.

184 618 All Tallensi think alike on matters of this sort, which fall within the ambit of their common culture, whatever their particular structural affiliations may be. This Namoo custom and its recent obsolescence fit the pattern we have established for the more conventionalized joking partnerships of the Talis.

618 602 578 Yet another kind of joking which I have several times witnessed adds confirmation to our analysis, the more so because it is entirely informal. This occurs between the members of two maximal lineages which are bound to one another by inescapable ties of politico-ritual interdependence. They are usually maximal lineages which have complementary politico-ritual offices, such as a chiefship and the tendaanaship complementary to it. A large element of tension is necessarily involved in these relationships. Mutual loyalty and solidarity in situations involving common interests are counterbalanced by mutual suspicion in matters concerning the private interests and possessions of each lineage. Behind a strong sense of amity and interdependence lurks a jealous vigilance in regard to reciprocal rights and duties.

When, therefore, representatives of the two groups meet in a ceremonial or jural situation, the more aggressive among the elders often taunt one another playfully at moments when ceremonial formality is relaxed. Gbizug and Tongo men, for example, have a habit of doing this. The Chief of Tongo and the Gbizug tendaana, on the rare occasions when they meet in public, will interrupt a long and ceremonious discussion with a

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

jesting altercation about their mythologically founded bonds of mutual coercion. Ta'ag, the Gbizug tendaana's brother, who often deputizes for him in public ceremonies, has a sharp tongue. When representatives of the tendaana and of the Chief of Tongo have to perform some ceremony together he always pretends to mock the Namoos. 'You are only guests here,' he jeers (referring to their immigrant origin), 'I (as representative of Gbizug) have given you land to sit on, but if you don't behave I'll drive you back to Mampurugu, where you came from.' The Tongo men laugh good-humouredly at this sally, and one of them might answer, 'Very true, but if we should decide to go back to Mampurugu and leave you to yourselves, you will just starve'—the reference being to the Chief of Tongo's ritual power over the rain. Elders of Kpata'ar and Gundaat, which have a similar politico-ritual relationship to that of Tongo and Gbizug, often tease one another in the same way when they meet to perform a ceremony together.

Tallensi say this is just fun, jesting (*koohog*); but we see again that this apparently spontaneous jesting acts as a means of reconciling and counteracting the tensions of a double-edged social relationship. Where two corporate groups are structurally divided from each other to the point of having potentially competitive interests likely to lead to conflict at one level of the social organization, but are at the same time bound to each other by strong ties of obligatory co-operation and goodwill in another aspect of their social relations, the undercurrent of hostility or mutual wariness is deflected by a jest. You jest with people who must be friendly to you in terms of one set of loyalties and may be hostile to you in terms of another, and with whom you are on an equal footing as far as mutual rights and duties go. In the social relations of individuals with one another, this configuration occurs between siblings-in-law; hence the notion that the joking relationship between corporate units is modelled on *dakiirot*, the relationship of siblings-in-law.

Privileged Moral Coercion

There is another peculiar tie belonging to the category of social relations which we have been discussing. So far as my information goes, it is also confined to the Talis and their congeners. Its moral aspect is of particular interest as a clue to the values that lie at the back of the basic principles of Talis social structure.

The natives have no name for this relationship. In virtue of it, pairs of clans or lineages usually on the margin of the field of clanship of each, but not joking partners, have the privilege of moral coercion over each other's members. The natives describe this as a taboo (*kihor*). No member of one group may refuse a request of any member of the other. 'They *dare not* refuse', one informant declared, with obvious solemnity, as if to emphasize that it was a question of deep moral values. 'If they don't give what we ask, they would die, their house (i.e. lineage) would fall to pieces (*ba yiri gbi'irme*).' In other words, if anyone violates this bond, not only he but his entire line of descent would perish—the most calamitous retribution conceivable to the natives and one which befalls only those who transgress the ultimate tenets of religion and ethics.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

to declare, is not a matter of expediency or calculation but the essence of life for the individual and the community. It is a sacred necessity; and men must be in harmony amongst themselves and with the mystical powers that control their lives if they desire to gain the beneficence of these powers for this end. The ritual, the sacrifices, and the prayers to the ancestors and to the Earth, pleading for the fruitfulness of the land, of women, and of the flocks and herds, for health, prosperity, and peace, and offering thanks at the end of the agricultural year for these boons, eloquently express the Tale conception of the common good. In the rites of the Great Festivals the widest community that has social relevance for any Talaŋ emerges, not as a hard-and-fast political unit, but as a temporary synthesis of all the forces of social integration operative in Tale society. This is an expression of the fact that, though they have no centralized government, the Tallensi do form a single body politic, albeit one without defined territorial boundaries. This unit is built up on the widely ramifying structural ties which knit the independent corporate units together. But its ultimate basis is a body of moral and jural norms and values accepted as binding by all Tallensi, and defended from the disruptive action of conflicting sectional interests by the most solemn ritual sanctions of Tale religion. The function of ritual collaboration between clans and lineages is to maintain the unchallengeable validity of these norms and values; for upon their observance the attainment of the common good ultimately depends.[1]

Native Thought and the Realities of Social Structure

We have digressed to survey the scope and function of ritual collaboration among the Talis in order to see what truth there is in the maxim that 'those who sacrifice together do not intermarry'. As a generalization it is obviously inaccurate; but it is valid for particular instances of linkage by clanship ties, though only as an *a posteriori* inference.

Tale elders do not fall into this error of deduction through lack of intelligence or ignorance of their social organization. Among the Tallensi, as among most primitive peoples, what appears to us to be defective logic usually proves to be a product of the social organization as it is apprehended by native thought. When an individual Talaŋ applies the maxim we have criticized to his own particular field of social relations—not to that of his lineage or clan—it is perfectly apposite. For an individual in his personal capacity can only sacrifice together with other individuals if they are his kinsfolk or clansfolk; and this implies automatically that he cannot marry their daughters or sisters.

In the social philosophy of the Tallensi, as will be shown in the next volume of this study, kinship is the model of all social ties between individuals and groups. The ties of clanship, ritual collaboration, or local contiguity are visualized as so many different extensions and transformations of the fundamental patterns of kinship. For the individual this is accurate to a very large extent. There is a kinship element in all his social

[1] This aspect of Tale political organization and its wider sociological implications are discussed in *African Political Systems*, cit. supra.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

relations; for him they are all contained within a single frame of social reference, determined, at bottom, by his parentage. He cannot connect the rules and conditions that govern his own social behaviour with the general principles of Tale social structure. He has no means of ascertaining these, since the Tallensi do not make a systematic study of their own society. Every native knows only a limited sector of the social system, and the picture he has of it is built up out of his direct experience of the way in which it acts upon the day to day conduct of his life. Individuals who have the same or nearly the same field of social relations tend to have the same picture of their society; and individuals who have different fields of social relations tend to interpret their social behaviour and the structure of their society by the same concepts and along the same lines in so far as the same principles determine Tale social structure in every sector of the society. When we speak of Tale social philosophy or Tale thought, we do not mean that the natives have a systematic body of objective knowledge about their own society. We mean only the common denominators in the knowledge of their society that they have individually. Such knowledge, though partially inaccurate and transmitted only in face to face contact, is necessary for the existence of every society. For men employ their social notions in their relations with others and adapt their concepts to those of their fellows in carrying on collective life. Common notions emerge out of corporate and co-operative social action for common ends. In a society as homogeneous as that of the Tallensi this knowledge is widespread and tends to be uniform; hence the common denominators stand out.

When a native harks back to kinship in order to explain or interpret any social tie that directs his corporate or co-operative activities, he is putting forward a common point of view, but not an objectively accurate one. The outside student, seeing Tale social life on a wider scale than any native, can see differences in the significance of kinship for the individual, and of clanship for a corporate unit. Thus, matrilateral kinship has a different value for the individual from what it has in the sphere of clanship. In the former case, matrilateral kinship confers definite privileges and obligations on an individual in relation to other individuals or to defined groups, and it has the same value for everybody. In the latter case, it is one of several fictions used to rationalize ties of a particular kind between corporate units. For example, the sister's son (*ahɔŋ*) of a Ba'ari man is not entitled by right of matrilateral kinship to participate in sacrifices at Ba'at Da'a; but Ba'at-Lakum yidɛm exercise this right in virtue of clanship ties accounted for by the fiction of descent from a sororal nephew. Similarly, it is evident to the sociologist that the exogamic barrier by which ties of clanship are distinguished from other social ties has a different structural value from the prohibition against marrying a maternal kinsman; for the former is a factor of solidarity between corporate units, and the latter the index of a particular tie between certain individuals. But the natives lump them together.

Thus it comes about that the Tallensi describe and discuss the social relations of corporate units in terms of kinship, using such concepts as *sunsɔ*, *mabii*, and *dɔyam*. The primary significance of these concepts will

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

be discussed in our next volume. It will be useful, however, to sum up the meanings attached to them in the context of the structural relations between corporate units.

The term *sunzɔ* (pl. *sunzɔp*) means literally sibling by the same father. It is applied by the members of a particular lineage or clan to another lineage or clan with which they have a defined structural relationship, involving reciprocal rights, duties, and interests, identical with or analogous to those that obtain between segments of a single lineage. The natives visualize this relationship, which they describe by the abstract noun *sunzɔt*, as modelled on the social relationship of brothers.

Mabii (pl. *mabiis*), literally mother's child, and the abstract noun *mabiirɔt*, are more loosely used and have a wider range of reference. In its primary sense *mabii* denotes a kinsman of the same generation, in particular a sibling, as distinguished from kinsmen of a preceding or succeeding generation. Its emphasis, however, is not on the reciprocal rights, duties, and interests of siblings, but on their equality of status and on the sentiments of brotherhood based on common descent. A man can speak appropriately of his brother as his *mabii*, but not of his son. Lineages of the same order of segmentation can be described as *mabiis*, but not a segment of a lineage in relation to the whole lineage. Related clans, or even clans that have some distinctive usage in common, can speak of one another as *mabiis*. In certain circumstances all the Tallensi may be described as *mabiis* by contrast with non-Tallensi. *Mabiirɔt* means 'to be akin to one another in some way'—by kinship in the narrow sense, in a kinship context; by local propinquity, political or ritual association, common custom, or merely common race, in other contexts. It is reminiscent of our own phrase 'kith and kin', which we apply to our actual kinsmen in one context, and to our 'cousins', the Australians or Canadians, in another. We have tried to convey this by translating *mabiirɔt* by 'kinship in the wide sense'.

Lastly, there is the concept *dɔɣam*, derived from the verb *dɔɣ-*, to bear or beget a child. Its primary reference is to kinship by consanguinity; hence it is most appropriately used to refer to a structural tie based on a known or accepted genealogical connexion. It serves to distinguish such ties from apparently similar ties for which no genealogical connexion or at most a very general community of stock is postulated. Thus, a Tongo man will describe the people of Yamɔlag as 'our *dɔɣam*', but not the people of Zoo; they are merely 'our *mabiis*'. *Dɔɣam* has no reference to the relative status of the parties or to their precise jural relationship. Father and son, uncle and nephew, a person and his distant cognate, clansfolk, members of linked lineages, are all *dɔɣam* to one another. The term refers to the tie of consanguinity itself.

All three terms are frequently used in a metaphorical way to express attitudes of amity, solidarity, or goodwill, such as are taken for granted amongst kinsfolk, even where the parties concerned have no social ties based on genealogical connexion. To give an instance, Soog and Zubiuŋ were estranged from each other for a long time. At length they were compelled for ritual reasons to meet and become reconciled. Pledging their clans to everlasting amity and goodwill in the future, the two spokes-

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

men declared fervently '*ti a dɔyam*—we are consanguineous kin'. Let no one betray this kinship in the future; and if a man of either clan does so, let the ancestors and the Earth visit punishment on him. *Dɔyam* was used here to express in the most emphatic way both the state that it was desirable to maintain between the two clans and the special cordiality they felt for one another on this signal occasion of a ceremonial reconciliation after a long breach in their good relations. Similarly, when Tallensi wished to express particular cordiality towards, and confidence in, me they used to say, with great self-satisfaction, '*Nyɛn pana ɛŋ ti dɔyam*—you have now become our kinsman'.

The concept *dɔyam* is the link between the individual's notion of ritual collaboration as a function of kinship and the common idea that ritual collaboration between corporate units is a sign of a corresponding genealogical connexion. For consanguineous kinship[1] is the fundamental condition that permits individuals to join together in a common ritual activity, and the individual's scheme of ritual values is linked to his social frame of reference through the medium of his kinship ties. It is in his relations with his consanguineous kinsfolk that a person has the most direct experience of that amity and solidarity which are assumed to be intrinsic to all ties of ritual collaboration.

The Network of Structural Ties among the Gɔrisi and in the Sie District

The intricate network of structural ties and cleavages that links the Talis clans and lineages among themselves stretches across into the country of the Gɔrisi. There, at Bɔlɔga, at Zuarungu, and elsewhere, we find similar aggregations of local clans and lineages, differentiated from one another and interlinked in a similar pattern to that which we discovered among the Talis; but from the superficial inquiries I was able to make, it seemed that the organization is much less elaborate among the Gɔrisi than among the Talis. These clusters of Gɔre clans and lineages adjacent to the Tallensi are hooked on to the Tale cluster by intercalary lineages such as the Biuk Namoos and Sanaab biis at Bɔlɔga. Thus, Sanaab biis are connected with Ba'ari (cf. p. 88) both by spatial proximity and by ties of clanship, but they lie outside the social horizon of an average member of any of the Hill Talis clans.

The same pattern of interlinked structural ties is found also among the non-Namoo clans and lineages of the Sie district, but again it is not so elaborate and complete a system as that of the Talis. In this district we find the same type of composite clan bearing a local name, considering itself a unit, expressing its corporate identity and solidarity in its relationship to *bɔyar* and *tɛŋ*, and composed of relatively autonomous maximal lineages each with its own lineage head holding a particular ritual office. Again we find contiguous maximal lineages linked with one another by ties of clanship and of clanship-by-courtesy.

But in this area the chains of linkage are more variable than among the Talis. Political and territorial ties often unite neighbouring groups which

[1] As opposed to affinal kinship (*deen*) which is the prototypical social relationship that excludes sacrificing together.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

764 571 562 they may come from. For these women feel themselves to be as closely akin to one another as members of the same clan, by contraposition with the Tallensi whom they have married.

764 571 562 252 The *pɔyayabəlis* act together as a single group under the leadership of the oldest among them at funeral ceremonies. The young girls perform such tasks as bringing in the great bundles of firewood required for cooking the beer. The older *pɔyayabəlis*, expert in the preparation of beer, undertake that task themselves. The younger women do the more strenuous jobs connected with cooking, such as grinding flour and preparing the other ingredients of a meal. The older women cook the porridge and meat relishes required for such rites as the setting out of consecrated food for the dead. All food required for ritual use is prepared by the *pɔyayabəlis*, since all the ritual is the preserve of the clan. As members of the clan they can be associated with the ritual activities of the clan, and as women they can carry out tasks which are appropriate to their sex in accordance with the usual division of labour. The *dubɛnib* do not prepare the food required for ritual purposes, but only the food used to give hospitality to clansmen, kinsmen, and other visitors.

764 571 562 [292] The *pɔyayabəlis* have also to be directly represented by one of them, most appropriately by one of the older women, in many of the rites. A *pɔyayabələg* has to assist in such rites as the offering of the initial sacrifices to the spirit of the departed and to the ancestors he or she is about to join. A *pɔyayabələg* and a man of the clan see to the ritual feeding of the orphans, which takes place at different stages of the ceremonies. The various mourning strings (*miis*) which the orphans and widows have to wear during the funeral ceremonies are tied on, and at the end removed, by an elderly *pɔyayabələg*. The setting out of consecrated food for the dead is always done by one male and one female member of the clan. And then, when the final divination takes place, a man and a woman of the lineage together carry out the simple rite of restoring the dead person's body dirt (*dayat*), the symbol of his individual self, to the house where his life was spent, and whither he now returns as a spirit to whom sacrifice must be offered.

x618 728 584 Lastly, a married *pɔyayabələg* is a link between her paternal clan and her husband's clan, both in herself and in the line of descent which springs from her. This is evident nowadays from the role of the *pɔyasama* —a clansman of the bridegroom and a matrilateral kinsman of the bride's lineage—as an intermediary in marriage negotiations. It was shown in former days in peace-making ceremonies. If two clans, or groups of clans, had been at war, peace was concluded by a ritual reconciliation. In this the opponents were usually represented by a *pɔyayabələg* of each side who was married to a member of the other side, who was therefore bound by jural and moral ties to both sides and had strong emotional attachments to both, and thus symbolized the underlying interdependence of the opponents.

613 562 602 Lineage and clan consist of both their male and their female members. Though the women do not contribute to the continuity and perpetuation of the lineage, they are a source of strength to it. This is most obvious in the fact that the bride-price paid for them adds to the resources by

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

means of which the lineage acquires wives. But what is more important, the women carry the descent of the clan into other clans, and thus build up that network of interclan kinship ties which breaks down the rigid exclusiveness of the lineage and clan, interweaves clan with clan, and is one of the factors that restrain strife between clans and prevent Tale society from splitting into anarchic fragments. Since the tie of descent is indestructible, women members of the lineage and clan have definite rights and duties in all those practical and ritual institutions which bring out most precisely the solidarity and corporate identity of the lineage through the passage of time and the mutability of generations.

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2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

In the past hunger or a pressing bride-price debt often left a man with no other resource than to sell his land; and a man in a tight corner, the natives say, does not care about ritual sanctions. Nowadays there are other ways in which a man can struggle through (*walɔg*) such difficulties.

Where land is concerned Tallensi always connect the fear of mystical punishment by the ancestors with the obligations towards one's dependants and coheirs. The religious sanction and the practical sanction are thought of as aspects of the total economic and kinship configuration. The head of the nuclear lineage is not only bound to but wants to preserve his patrimonial land for his successors, because it is the foundation of the lineage's subsistence. And his brothers and sons do not rely solely on ritual and moral sanctions. They will use every legitimate means to prevent him from selling or pledging land that is due to come to them on his death.

Despite these sanctions the pledging of farm-land is not uncommon; and judging by what happens in such cases, it is probable that much land now regarded as having been bought came into the possession of its present owners by having been pledged, in the first instance, and not redeemed. But the attitude of the natives in such cases is well illustrated by the behaviour of a man I knew very well. He was an extravagant man and had accumulated debts to the tune of about thirty shillings in the past few years. But he was also, like most Tallensi, touchy about his reputation. So when his creditors began to press him, and his failure to pay began to arouse gossip, he borrowed money on the security of his ancestral land. For months afterwards, whenever I met him, he could talk of nothing else but his pledged land. His remorse and apprehension were obvious, for he knew that only a windfall would ever enable him to redeem the land. It was like a Damocles sword over his head. 'If I do not repay the loan my forefathers won't allow it. They will kill deaths in my family', he told me anxiously.

Borrowing land for a season or a period of years is very common. I have never heard of a case in which the lender has been cheated of his right of resumption. Here, again, the sanction of the ancestor cult is the significant factor. When land is borrowed for a long time, the decisive act in the transaction is a sacrifice to the lineage ancestors of the lender's lineage. This is performed in the presence of the other members of the lineage who have an interest in the land, and of the borrower, who must provide the animals and libations for the rite. Though the loan is made at the discretion of the head of the lineage owning the land, his co-members must consent and the lineage ancestors must be informed. The ancestors who 'own' the land are exhorted to prosper the borrower. Without this covenant, expressing the consent of all concerned, the transaction is void. The borrower would not venture to farm the land, even if this were possible. He believes that the owners' outraged ancestors will bring disaster on him, if he did so.

It is important to note that, with rare exceptions, such land transactions always take place between kinsmen or clansmen. All forms of land ownership and utilization exist only within the genealogical frame of the

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

471 social structure. The economic utilization of land is regulated by the
426 process of segmentation in the lineage and by the system of co-operation
602 in the household. It turns upon the acceptance, by the members of the household, of the norms governing their relationships and the enforcement of these norms, in accordance with the principle of reciprocity, by direct action. Behind these norms stands the ancestor cult, the supreme sanction of solidarity in the pursuit of common interests by the lineage. Granted favourable external conditions, the efficiency of production, among the Tallensi, with the technical means at their disposal, depends on the organization of the household and lineage.

613 Broadly speaking, then, every unit of farm-land corresponds to a unit
471 of social structure. More specifically, the elementary utilitarian unit of territory corresponds to the elementary unit of the social structure, and the relationship between them, summed up in the concept of ownership, is a permanent one. The history of a nuclear lineage is *eo ipso* the history of its farm-land. Every change in the structure of the lineage implies a corresponding change in the distribution of the usufructuary rights in its farm-land. While the lineage exists it never forfeits ownership of its farm-land, whether its members cultivate it or not. The strength of the tie felt to hold between a lineage and its ancestral farm-land (*banam kuo*) is shown in the rule that purchased land is redeemable at any time by repayment of the purchase price (or more probably, as we have suggested, of the original loan) by the vendor lineage.[1]

621 The keystone of the institutional framework of Tale agriculture is
471 security of land tenure. But what, we may ask, guarantees to the lineage
182 security of ownership of its farm-land, in the absence of judicial institutions and instruments? The answer is contained in the Tale concept of the *tey* as a community. The landowning unit is a segment of a maximal lineage and its property rights are an aspect of its corporate relationship to the maximal lineage and clan. Within a settlement the stretch of land parcelled out into farm plots corresponds to the clan occupying that locality as it segmented into a hierarchy of lineage units. All segments of the clan of the same order are equal to one another. They have an equal weight in the structure of the clan, equal power in its affairs. They have, in consequence, equal property rights (though not necessarily equal amounts of property), equal opportunity for holding and farming land (though not necessarily equal achievement), and equal social duties to one another. Hence each segment respects the land rights of all other segments, just as it respects their rights in relation to their wives and children. This is an aspect of the solidarity of the clan, one of the indices of the common interest of all members of the clan in one another's welfare. It is a feature of the equilibrium of interlineage and intra-clan relationships. The relative structural autonomy of the nuclear lineage, which is a basic factor in the equilibrium of the maximal lineage and clan, presupposes corresponding economic autonomy. Just as members of the same

[1] In practice, the rule does not hold beyond three generations, by which time all witnesses to the transaction, and their sons (whom they would have told of it) are dead, but attempts are often made to assert the right of redemption after three generations.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

Lineage Grouping and Local Grouping

613 621 596 We come now to the question of the connexion between lineage grouping and locality. A lineage like Nəpugzabər yiri, though its span is comparatively small, exhibits all the important principles of lineage structure and will suffice as a crucial example.

In all the old-established settlements we find a very close correlation between lineage proximity and residential proximity among the members of the clan who live there. Close agnates tend to live near one another, so that residential proximity is almost a measure of lineage proximity. A segment of small span tends to be a close residential cluster, and segments of larger span, up to the major segments of a maximal lineage, tend to form residential blocks.

We can see this most readily if we look again at the residential dispersion of a group of agnatically related joint families, bearing in mind that the men of a joint family form a lineage. For as the homestead is the material integument of the living structure of the joint family, so is the localization of the lineage, growing out of the spatial arrangement of the homestead, the spatial counterpart of the lineage structure.

592 602 596 As will be remembered (see p. 199), the elementary case is that of two full (*soog*) brothers, who often continue to occupy a single homestead long after they have set up separate families. Each will have more or less self-contained quarters, but the homestead will have only one gateway (*zanɔr*), one cattle-yard (*sapak*), and one room for the family head (*zɔŋ*), signifying that it is a single homestead. Half-brothers (*sunzɔp*) may share a homestead in this way, but they usually separate more distinctly when they have growing families. Each will have his own gateway, &c., and party walls divide his section of the homestead completely from those of his brothers, making it what may be called a semi-detached homestead. Such a set of semi-detached homesteads may house a man and his mature first-born son, or a man and his deceased brother's sons. Sometimes two or more ortho-cousins (brothers, in native terminology) live thus side by side.

613 621 More usually, however, men whose nearest common ancestor is a grandfather occupy completely separate dwellings, often very near to one another. Men whose nearest common ancestor is a great-grandfather never have permanent homes adjoining one another in this semi-detached way. These conditions of residence signalize successive stages of segmentation as the effective minimal lineage expands and splits into new effective minimal lineages. But what residential arrangements will prevail in a particular lineage segment depends, also, upon other circumstances, the most important of which are the economic and religious relations, and the character and disposition of the individuals concerned. Residential collocation is not a simple function of lineage relationship. There is a *tertium quid* linking them: the combined effect of land tenure, on which the whole economy of the household rests, and of the ancestor cult. For example, when a joint family splits, the man who leaves the ancestral home usually builds a homestead for himself on land belonging to the

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

segment of the lineage whose head always takes the title of *Yikpɛmdaan*[1] and has the duty of sacrificing to the collective ancestors of the lineage on behalf of all its members. Among clans that have tendaanas the senior tendaana often has to build his homestead on the site of the founding ancestor's homestead; and when a tendaana dies his successor takes possession of the ancestral homestead and his children move out. But many other arrangements exist all serving the same end of keeping alive the idea of the lineage home.

In the lineage we are discussing the three homesteads of the members stand on ancestral land quite close to the graves of the lineage ancestors, Doohraan, Damtii, and Nɔpugzabɔr. When Deemzeet formally became the head of the lineage his homestead housed the lineage *bɔyar* and other shrines of its common ancestors, and his gateway became the lineage *zanɔr*. The ancestral graves of this lineage are actually on land owned by its members. This is not always the case. Changes in the ownership of land as the population shifts frequently result in the land surrounding the ancestral graves of a lineage-segment passing into the hands of members of another segment of the same lineage, sometimes even into the hands of members of a neighbouring clan. The spot continues, nevertheless, to be regarded as the *daboog* of the lineage whose ancestral graves lie there. The conception of the lineage home is split. For jural and social purposes it is the *de facto* home of the lineage, the place where its head actually resides. The site of the ancestral home, marked by the graves of the ancestors, comes to be regarded primarily as the religious focus of the lineage.

The Influence of Lineage Localization in the Social Life

This fact, that in the older settlements the core of a lineage is a locally organized unit, and that its location is associated with its ancestor spirits on the one hand and its patrimonial land on the other, moulds the entire life of its members. The corporate unity and identity of a lineage is a real and tangible thing when its male members can see one another every day, and when most of them, certainly most of their leading men, can gather together easily and in a very short time to consider and take action in affairs of common interest. Classificatory kinship is no mere formality where an individual's childhood companions are his or her own siblings and ortho-cousins of various degrees; where a man's daily intercourse is carried on chiefly with close agnatic kinsmen, and almost entirely with men of the same patrilineal descent, in his section or settlement; where a man can readily, and indeed is compelled to, by the fact of physical accessibility in a culture lacking rapid and indirect means of communication, have immediate and almost exclusive recourse to his patrilineal kin for help in economic activities, support in maintaining his rights or performing his duties, advice and guidance in the conduct of his life, or solace in misfortune. Ceremonial co-operation is not an empty formula

[1] Tallensi are poor etymologists and various equally plausible etymologies are suggested for this title. The most probable is that it is compounded of *yir*, house; *kpiim*, spirits of the dead, and *daana*, custodian or master. This can be translated 'Custodian of the House of the Spirits of the Lineage Ancestors'.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

where it always and necessarily brings together men of the same descent group, bound together not only by ties of blood but also by ties of residence, common interests, and common experience. The local concentration of the lineage in such close association with the graves of its ancestors and the land hallowed by their life and labour gives to the cult of the ancestors a binding power and directive force in the social life of the natives which is hardly equalled elsewhere in Africa. The like-mindedness, common values, mutual loyalties, sense of unity and continuity, so prominent in a lineage of small span and distinctive only to a lesser degree of lineages of greater span, can be translated directly into terms of contact, co-operation, and experience. So also the conflicts and rivalries that inevitably spring up in a human community, and occur as often in a Tale settlement as anywhere else in the world, have an additional significance, since they necessarily involve men who are kin to one another and belong to the same corporate unit. The principle of lineage representation and the concept of the equivalence of members of the same lineage have the maximum efficacy in these conditions.

The effect of the congruence between lineage ties and local ties is of no less importance for a woman than for a man. In childhood her closest playmates are the children of her father's inner lineage, that is, the children of her father's nearest neighbours, and their principal playground is the immediate vicinity of their parents' homesteads. Among her classificatory patrilineal relatives she knows best and depends most on the members of her father's inner lineage. Members of her father's medial lineage are next in order of importance for her, and more distant clansmen and clanswomen least important, though far from irrelevant. When she marries into another community she does not cease to belong to her natal clan. She maintains close ties with it, the most intimate being with the members of her father's inner lineage; and she thinks of these ties as ties with a corporate social unit, not with particular individuals only. Both to herself, her husband and his clansmen, and to her children, her 'father's house' (*ba yir*) is, in the broadest sense, her natal clan pictured as a local community, in a narrower sense, her father's medial lineage, thought of as a localized subdivision of her natal clan, in the narrowest sense her father's inner lineage thought of in the same way.

In her husband's home, too, the correlation of lineage proximity with local proximity enters continuously into the routine of her life. Her relations with the members of her husband's clan are graded in accordance with their lineage proximity to him. The men of her husband's clan with whom she has closest contact are her husband's nearest agnates and the nearest neighbours of her conjugal family. With him they form the segment of his clan which has the greatest jural interest in her and her children. If her husband dies, it is one of these men who is most likely to inherit her. The wives of all her husband's clansmen are nominally her co-wives or daughters-in-law; but in fact it is only the wives of his close agnates, women who are her nearest neighbours, whom she regards as effective classificatory co-wives and daughters-in-law. She and they will help one another in such tasks as floor beating or ceremonial cooking, and at critical times like a confinement or a death. She has bonds of

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE1 Tallensi FE11

Structure of Peripheral Settlements

In the newer settlements there are no lineages of large span. Where segments of maximal lineages, whose homes are in the old settlements, have been settled for more than a generation, those of their members remaining in the peripheral settlements do not always live in close proximity to one another. People shift readily to take up new land, and spread widely so as to have a large area for cultivation immediately around the homestead, as we have learnt. But the tendency for a lineage to become locally stabilized on the land of its ancestors, near their graves and original home, operates strongly too, and has been strengthened in recent years.

Many men at Woo, Biuŋ, and Datɔk now live on land originally broken for cultivation by their fathers, grandfathers, and even great-grandfathers. A powerful incentive to remain there is the fact that they now hold this land by right of inheritance. An irresistible sanction binding them to these new settlements is the fact that their fathers and grandfathers lie buried there. Born and bred in these settlements, they look upon them as their homes, while maintaining strong ties with their original clan settlements, which they regard as the clan homes.

The effect is to establish new, permanent, local nuclei for minor branches of lineages anchored in the old settlement. Around these nuclei we sometimes find a small cluster of homesteads, the heads of which are all members of a lineage segment of two, three, or at the most four generations. But this is far from common. As we have mentioned before, these settlements have been, and are being, occupied by people of very diverse genealogical origin from all parts of Taleland and neighbouring areas. This is particularly marked in the case of Datɔk. Biuŋ and Woo have been settled chiefly by people from Tongo and the places immediately adjacent to or socially connected with Tongo. In addition to the bonds of local cohesion the inhabitants of these places have also the ties of political and ritual interdependence which they bring with them from their original clan settlements. At Datɔk no such bonds are carried over into the new community. A Gban man may have as his nearest neighbours a man from Ba'ari, a man from Bɔlɔga, a man from Yamɔlɔg, and a man from Bongo. The basis of political unity is locality rather than lineage. The sections of Datɔk, for example, are local units, wards, or quarters, not genealogical-cum-local units.

But it is characteristic of Tale social organization that the bonds of local association never stand alone and are never sufficient in themselves to generate bonds of solidarity. Mere contiguity requires some degree of mutual accommodation. It does not, in a society without a constituted legal system or territorially organized political units, create mutual legal obligations, or provide a basis for corporate relations between individuals. Hence it must be reinforced by, and indeed founded on, more fundamental ties which are morally and jurally binding in their own right. In the older settlements lineage ties have this function; in new settlements kinship ties take their place. [602]

The following excerpt from a census of a part of Datɔk illustrates this.

2; Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

This small sample is typical of the relationships that unite neighbours at Datɔk. The settlement is divided up into such clusters of homesteads, numbering anything from four or five homesteads to about a dozen, which have grown up around the homestead of a man who migrated to settle there forty or fifty years ago when Datɔk was still uninhabited bush.

Gradually the original settlers were joined by younger members of their lineages and kinsmen, migrating for economic or psychological reasons but drawn to this particular place by their kinship ties. Often several such clusters of homesteads close to one another, the owners of which are linked among themselves by ties of lineage or kinship, are grouped round men who are themselves linked by lineage or kinship. They are the original settlers, or more usually the sons or grandsons of the original settlers, who built their homesteads far apart from one another so as to have ample land for cultivation close at hand, and then 'cut' (*yma*) parcels of this land for the immigrants who filtered in subsequently.

In these conditions a great deal of intermarriage takes place between neighbours and within the local community, since many different clans are represented in the community. Tallensi are more inclined to marry people who live nearby than to take spouses from a distance; and at Datɔk marriage between the children of men who happen to be neighbours because of their kinship with a third man, but are themselves not related, is very common.[1] This weaves the mesh of kinship ties yet more finely, binding neighbour to neighbour still more closely and firmly.

It is evident that the corporate life of a community like Datɔk—and this applies only in a lesser degree to other peripheral settlements of mixed origins—must differ in many ways from that of the older settlements. Two clans, Gar and Gban, are numerically and politically dominant at Datɔk, just as Zoo is at Biuŋ, and the Hill Talis are at Mɔyaduur, and the people of these numerically superior clans or lineages can co-operate and unite for action in the same way as the segments of the clan do in the old settlements. People who have very few or no clansmen or lineage brothers in the settlement are in a different position. In Tale jural and ceremonial relations all matters of importance are dealt with corporately by lineages. Thus, if a Ba'ari man living at Datɔk suffers a bereavement, takes a wife, marries off a daughter, gets involved in a dispute, or has to make an important sacrifice, he has to call upon the elders of his lineage and clan at Ba'ari to support him in the action required. His extra-clan kinsmen at Datɔk cannot give him corporate assistance, though they would be individually helpful. Similarly he takes part in the economic, jural, and ceremonial events in which his Datɔk neighbours and kinsmen are involved only as an individual actuated by ties of personal kinship and concern for the welfare of particular people. In other words, these outlying settlements are still politically inchoate. They are still mainly social and political apanages of the older settlements from which they have been colonized; very many of their members are still tied into the structure of their natal clan-settlements, and are still

[1] I state this in a general way, as I did not take a sufficiently large sample of marriages at Datɔk to give a numerical indication of the extent of marriage within the settlement.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

613 582 price;[1] and conversely, it is he who is directly responsible for the payment of bride-price for the wives of members of the nuclear lineage, and for any other outlay entailed by the marriage formalities. But for all these transactions the formal consent (which is in fact never withheld) of the medial lineage head is required. This has the force of a blessing. When 613 583 the bridegroom's people send the placation gifts (*lu scndaan*) by which the marriage is regularized, the messenger goes first to the head of the girl's medial or maximal lineage, and gives him a live cock, the most important item among the placation gifts.[2] By accepting the live cock the lineage head signifies the acquiescence of the whole lineage in the marriage and the blessing of the ancestors thereon. Whether or not bride-price is paid, the girl is thereafter the jurally recognized wife of the bridegroom. As a rule it is perfectly safe for the lineage head to accept the cock, as placation gifts are only sent when the head of the girl's nuclear lineage consents. But cases do occur in which they are sent without the knowledge of the latter as a dodge by which to compel him to acquiesce in the marriage. Then if the head of the medial lineage accepts the live cock, the head of the girl's nuclear lineage must perforce acquiesce. This makes the marriage binding but does not secure it against dissolution through action taken by the head of the girl's nuclear lineage.

In the same way, when a woman's father's people come to demand the payment of bride-price from her husband's nuclear lineage, they go first to the head of the husband's medial lineage. He conducts the messengers to the head of the husband's nuclear lineage and formally presides over the negotiations.

Marriage transactions illustrate a very important principle of Tale jural relations. They are always relations between lineage units. Even when they appear to involve only particular individuals the lineage framework is implicit in the transaction. But this does not mean that all Tale jural relations are based on the concept of collective responsibility. On the contrary, jural responsibility is precisely fixed on particular individuals or exactly defined corporate units. This is graphically summed up in many Tale maxims. Thus they say 'A pipe sounds best in its owner's mouth (*Yiig m-mah ka daana nuoni*)'—that is, an action should be answered for by the person directly responsible for it. What we find, rather, is that all jural relations involve a configuration of rights on one side and a configuration of responsibilities on the other, both corresponding to the range of lineage segments involved. And no jural transaction is complete until the whole configuration of rights and responsibilities, on both sides, is brought into action. Though marriage formalities involve primarily the nuclear lineage and medial lineage, they presuppose the entire framework of maximal lineage and clan relations; and this is the case with most other jural relations among the Tallensi.

[1] Subject to limitations that will be detailed in our next volume.

[2] In many clans there is an arrangement between pairs of medial or maximal lineages that have some special tie of kinship by which the *scndaan* cock for a girl of one lineage is delivered to the *kpeem* of the other lineage and vice versa. E.g. this arrangement obtains between Lɛbhtiis yidɛm and Kabuu yidɛm at Tɔŋ-Puhug and is a sign of their close kinship as lineages sprung from one original progenitrix (see p. 212).

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2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

of an enemy in order to hit him. Fighting went on all day in spasms. At nightfall the men retired to their settlements to feast, dance, sing boastful songs, lament the dead, and rest. This was kept up for two or three days at most and then peace was made.[1]

Tale warfare inevitably took this form, since no single segment of the society and neither of the two major groups of clans had political power superior to any other segment or the other group. There is no institutional framework that could be extended so as to make any one segment paramount over the others as a result of a successful war. Every segment holds its allotted place in the whole system in virtue of complementary politico-ritual ties with the other segments, in particular with segments that would be opposed to it in war. They have common values and are subject to common ritual sanctions. Besides, their marriage rules and kinship system spread a wide network of affinal and cognatic relations between clans and lineages. Every Talən has cognatic or affinal kin in every clan within a radius of four or five miles of his own. Though corporate loyalties to his lineage and clan override his private loyalties to his kinsfolk of other clans, whenever the corporate interests of his unit are at stake, they do not extinguish them. Hence a man had to be very careful, in a fight, to avoid killing or injuring any of his own kinsmen who might be on the other side. Hence, also, the prohibition of pillage for one's own advantage. If the enemy was routed, the victors might descend on their settlement, set fire to the homesteads, burn the stored grain, slaughter and eat the live-stock; they could not carry off any of the enemy's possessions. A Namoo clan might fight a Talis clan; but it would be a grave sin against kinship morality for an individual Namoo to plunder or to take captive individual Talis, since they would most likely be the cognates or affines of members of his own clan and therefore indirectly of himself. The idea of killing the women folk or children of the enemy clan—who might easily be one's clan sisters or nephews—would have seemed monstrous.

Last, but not least, Tale economic organization is incompatible with warfare for material gain. There was and is no such thing as a tribe-wide or clan economy. Occupational differentiation, other than the division of labour between the sexes and in accordance with age, has barely emerged. Local trade is becoming increasingly important, but there was in the past no commerce other than barter and occasional petty trade. The Tallensi were and are still sedentary cultivators, using a primitive

[1] Tallensi often say that many men were killed and wounded in these fights. As they never counted their casualties it is impossible to get accurate figures from them. But taking account of the weapons used, the manner of fighting, and the duration of the fights, it is difficult to believe that casualties were in fact very heavy. As far as I can estimate, no more than three to four thousand men, fighting in scattered contingents of about 20 to 50 men, would be engaged in a general war. A settlement like Tongo, the largest in Taleland, would turn out between 200 and 300 fighting men at the outside. Putting together all that I was told, I would say that three or four men killed and a dozen wounded would have been regarded as a very heavy casualty list for Tongo in a day's fighting. It must be remembered, though, that the mortality from wounds was probably high, as the main non-magical treatment used was to suck the poison and pus out of the wound.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

CHAPTER II

KINSHIP AND THE LINEAGE SYSTEM

The Connexion between Kinship and the Lineage System

128 THE method of analysis we have followed in this study has required, for purposes of description, the isolation of the lineage system from the domestic organization of the Tallensi. In the actual life of the natives, however, these two planes of social structure do not emerge in isolation from each other. Like blood and tissue in the animal organism, they constitute interpenetrating media of Tale social life. Membership of a family and membership of a lineage are equally and often concurrently decisive for the conduct of the individual and for the course of his life. Yet the analytical separation of these two planes of social structure is not entirely artificial. It corresponds to the fact that the interests and ends (primarily political, jural, and ritual) subserved by the lineage system differ significantly from those (primarily economic and reproductive) subserved by the family system, both in their bearing on individual conduct and in the values attached to them by the society.

613 The lineage system is the structural basis of Tale political, jural, and
601 ritual institutions, whereas the domestic organization is the structural
121 basis of person-to-person relations in the sphere of kinship in the narrow sense. One of our main tasks in the present investigation will be to observe how these two categories of interests and ends, and the institutions and practices in which they emerge, are co-ordinated and integrated. For the individual's rights and duties, sentiments and values, manners and moral conduct, his thinking, feeling, and acting, in the context of lineage relationships, on the one hand, and in the context of family relationships on the other, are organically integrated, as are lineage and family in the social structure. This appears most clearly, we shall see, from the way in which segmentation in the domestic family parallels segmentation in the lineage, the two processes being not only simultaneous in time but complementary in function. Fission in the lineage[1] follows the pattern of cellular segmentation in the joint family; and fission in the joint family, as we shall see, follows the lines of cleavage in the effective minimal lineage. The local and the functional groupings of families are regulated by the agnatic distance of the family heads from one another. In the study of Tale kinship usages and values we are confronted, at every step, by the interaction of domestic organization and lineage structure.

●602 The Tallensi apply the concepts of kinship to describe and define domestic relations and the person-to-person ties that are derived from them. They use the same concepts in dealing with lineage relations. In

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. iii.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

the social structure as a whole kinship is the fundamental binding element. It furnishes the primary axioms of all categories of interpersonal and inter-group relations.

From the standpoint of the individ[illegible] the norms and conditions that govern his social behaviour fall w[illegible] single, syncretic frame of reference; and kinship forms the ba[illegible]m which this frame of reference is projected. This is a co[illegible]f the syncretic structure of Tale society, based as it is on genea[illegible] connexion. The alinement of individuals and groups for all social purposes follows genealogical lines; with few exceptions, social relations always have a genealogical coefficient. And because they have a common foundation in the genealogical structure of the society, Tale institutions interlock with one another in a consistent scheme. For the same reason Tale social relations do not fall into distinct categories with only adventitious connexions between them. Economic relations serve jural, political, and religious ends as well; political relations are at the same time religious relations; jural rights and duties are aspects of economic, religious, and political bonds.

The extent to which the idiom of kinship dominates Tale thought about human affairs is shown by the tendency of the people to explain conduct that conforms to the norms by appealing to kinship. The late Chief of Tongo, for example, justified his conciliatory tactics with the Golibdaana, in spite of the latter's provocations, on the grounds of their ties of cognatic and affinal kinship. On the other hand, departure from normal standards of conduct is apt to be ascribed to personal idiosyncrasies. Thus when Zayahkpemɔre fought with his older brother over the division of their late father's land, the elders of his lineage ascribed it to his violent temper and lack of intelligence. In keeping with this idiom of thought, a gross breach of kinship duty is the prototype of the Tale notion of sin.

Cognatic and Agnatic Kinship

It is essential to distinguish two kinds of genealogical ties among the Tallensi. There are, firstly, cognatic ties, that is, ties of actual or assumed physical consanguinity and of the social relations entailed by them, which link person to person or an individual to a lineage or one lineage to another in a specifically defined and particular bond. Such ties may be traced through males only, through females only, or through both males and females. Secondly, there are lineage ties, social relations based on the tie of common agnatic descent.

Cognatic kinship and agnatic kinship have different, in some situations even opposed, functions in Tale collective life. The distinction turns on the principle that lineage ties always unite people in or relate them to corporate groups serving common interests and held together by common values, whereas cognates do not necessarily form corporate

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

groups. Cognates have mutual bonds of sentiment and reciprocal obligations, but not necessarily common interests. All the members of a given lineage have the same agnatic kin and therefore identical lineage ties; but only identical siblings—that is, brothers or sisters by the same parents—have the same cognatic kin.[1] By automatically making him a member of maximal lineage and clan, his agnatic descent fits the individual into the constituted framework of Tale society. It is this that gives him his political status in the society. It gives him also a special field of defined social relations with clear contours. Cognatic kinship creates a number of contingent social ties for the individual, valid for him only. Unlike lineage ties, they differ in quality; they multiply in the course of his lifetime; in theory their range is indeterminate, since there is no limit to the reckoning of cognatic kinship. Tallensi often discover cognates of whom they were previously ignorant, in the most unexpected places in their own country, even in their own clan. But it is extremely rare for anyone to discover a hitherto unknown agnate, even in these days of relatively great mobility.

The Tallensi maintain, and genealogies of individuals bear this out, that if enough were known of the genealogical relationships of the people of adjacent settlements, they would all be found to be related to one another. In the clan itself, under the surface of its strict patrilineal organization, the filaments of cognatic kinship bind individuals together by special personal bonds which operate independently of lineage ties. This complex and unlimited ramification of cognatic kinship gives these relations great fluidity, in contrast to the comparative fixity of lineage relations. Individuals are often connected by multiple cognatic ties which are differentially effective in different situations; and, as will be clearer later, cognatic ties make breaches in the barriers of lineage and clan exclusiveness, thus extending widely the flow of social relations.

The domestic family is the matrix of all the genealogical ties of the individual, the contemporary mechanism for ever spinning new threads of kinship, and the focal field of social relations based on consanguinity. In it we can observe the working of the nuclear patterns of kinship and the formation of the ideas and values which steer the individual in all his genealogical relationships. In the domestic family we get the sharpest picture of the interaction between cognatic kinship and agnatic or lineage ties. We have there the elementary ties of cognatic kinship linking parent to child and sibling to sibling, and we have also the agnatic tie which

[1] These are the kinsfolk whom Rivers called a man's *kindred*; vide *Kinship and Social Organization*, p. 80. I am avoiding this term as it is best used to refer to a defined social unit in Rivers's sense. Sibship among the Teutons and Celts was reckoned bilaterally on this principle, cf. Vinogradoff, P., *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, vol. i, ch. viii. But the kindred as a defined social unit does not exist among the Tallensi.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

sets apart the males as the nucleus of the lineage. We can see the centrifugal, sundering force of matrilateral kinship counterbalancing the centripetal, uniting pull of patriliny. In the context of family life we can see the play of conflict and compromise in the working out of the primary equilibrium of Tale social organization, due to the interaction of these two sectors of social life.

Through his primary relations of consanguinity in the domestic family the individual is linked to agnates in other families and to cognates in other families and clans. There is, however, one significant difference between intra-familial and extra-familial bonds of kinship. Unlike the latter, the former are necessarily ambivalent, each relationship containing within itself both an agnatic and a cognatic component. In a joint family of three generations, for example, a child's relationship with his father differs from his relationship with his grandfather or his mother. Though these are all cognatic relationships, the tension and latent rivalry in the relationship of father and son stand in marked contrast to the comradeship of grandfather and grandson. On the other hand, grandfather, father, and son belong to the same lineage segment; they are united by a common interest in patrimonial land and in the product of their joint labour, by a common ancestor cult, by rights and duties vested in that lineage in relation to like segments of a greater lineage, and by their common concern for the continuity of their line. These are part of the whole complex of common interests and values that mobilize corporate action and maintain corporate solidarity in the maximal lineage and clan of which they form a segment. The men of a joint family may be thrown into conflict with one another on account of their cognatic relationships, but they act in union and on behalf of one another and of the whole unit in virtue of their lineage ties.

There is another paradox in the structure of the Tale family that is of importance for our inquiry. Consanguineous relationships arise out of parenthood; but parenthood presupposes marriage, a union of a man and a woman who are, by definition, not kin. The bonds of kinship are rooted in a bond the very essence of which is the absence of kinship. Hence comes the ambivalence inherent in intra-familial cognatic relations. Hence comes, also, another category of social relations, both in the family and between members of different families and clans, relations of affinity. There are two axes, as it were, in the structure of the family, the axis of kinship and that of marriage.

Before we discuss kinship in the domestic family more fully, we must consider a few matters of more general import. For the constellation of ties and cleavages that makes up the focal field of kinship is conditioned by the formative principles and values that shape the greater society into which the domestic family fits and which it helps to knit together. All person-to-person relations in the family are biased by the values attached to patrilineal descent and maternal origin in the total social structure.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

The Generic Concept of Kinship

602 Among the Tallensi the generic concept of kinship, *dɔɣam*, subsumes all kinds and degrees of genealogical relationship, however remote, through one or more progenitors or progenetrices. But its primary reference is to procreation. One might perhaps translate it by the word 'generation' in its etymological sense. Its root, the verb *dɔɣ*—to bear or beget a child—signifies both the male and the female function in procreation. *Dɔɣam*, the abstract noun, describes the process, or the act, or the physiological capacity, of bringing a child into the world, as well as the ties thus created. The logic behind this generalized concept of kinship is plain. Every genealogical relationship goes back, eventually, to one pair of parents. Both in fact and in Tale kinship theory the parent-child bond is the nodal bond of kinship.

Though the Tallensi see every genealogical relationship as a tie of physical consanguinity, this is not the thing that matters most. What matters most is the social relations entailed by consanguinity. A genealogical tie between two people or two genealogically defined units comes into action in the palpable facts of economic life, jural relations, moral values, ceremonial duties, and ritual ideas and performances. Genealogical ties very often have economic or political utility and are sustained by powerful moral and religious sanctions. But behind all this lies a general notion which the natives themselves do not need to formulate but which is implicit in all their kinship behaviour. A great deal of Tale kinship custom is specific. In ceremonial situations different categories of kin often behave in prescribed ways which sharply distinguish them from one another. At a funeral ceremony, for example, one can tell at once, from the kind of gifts they bear and the attitudes they display, whether a party of mourners are relatives-in-law (*deenam*), clansmen (*yidɪm*), or sisters' children (*ahɔs*), of the bereaved. But in the routine of ordinary life the intercourse of kinsfolk has no such formal precision, and is often indistinguishable from the intercourse of friends, neighbours, or other associates. Not even the native, attuned as he is to the fine nuances of his cultural idiom, could tell whether two women working and chatting amicably together are co-wives, mother and daughter, or mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. The general notion we have mentioned corresponds to this indeterminate and elastic manifestation of kinship.

582 The Tallensi indicate it most clearly in connexion with the rules governing a proper marriage. They draw a sharp distinction between 602 *dɔɣam*, kinship, and *deen*, in-lawship. The crux of the rule of clan exogamy and of the collateral prohibition of marriage with consanguineous kin of any degree (and the natives do not distinguish these two classes of restrictions) is the principle that *dɔɣam* and *deen* are irreconcilably contradictory. They must not be 'mixed' (*gyet*).

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

A striking illustration of this antithesis occurred at a sacrifice that Diŋkaha made to one of his ancestors. An ambitious and none too scrupulous braggart of considerable intelligence and drive, Diŋkaha had been very useful to me and had made the most of his connexion with me. One of the objects of this ceremony was to show off his friendship with me to his clansmen, and his prestige among them to me. It was, therefore, a specially lavish occasion. In the middle of the ceremony Diŋkaha's father-in-law called in. The old man was respectfully received and ushered into his daughter's rooms. Diŋkaha finished the sacrifice and began to distribute the meat. Various members of his lineage and clan received the portions due to them. And then, intoxicated with conceit at having his white friend in his house and at the obvious appreciation of his stock, in consequence, in the eyes of his clansmen, a rash impulse overcame him. Holding up a goat's foreleg—one of the ritually prescribed portions that should be reserved for those entitled by birth to share in the sacrifice—he launched out into a speech, the gist of which was that he desired his father-in-law to accept it in order to mark this special occasion. A sombre look came upon the old man's face. He was visibly shocked. Speaking gravely but curtly, he refused the gift. *Deenam*, he said, do not sacrifice together; it is an unheard-of thing; he could not accept the gift. Diŋkaha retired in discomfiture behind a smoke-screen of apologies.

Marriage implies the absence of kinship ties between the parties; kinship, the impossibility of marriage. Kinship ties exist in their own right; *deen* is an artificial alliance of a contractual nature. The parties to a marriage deliberately and voluntarily enter into a bond, the bride's guardian permitting her to marry in return for a promise on the part of the bridegroom's guardian to pay him four head of cattle. Kinship ties are not voluntary and are automatically binding. The parties to a marriage are bound by rights and duties which did not exist before. Kinship automatically entails moral, jural, and ritual bonds, whereas there is an avowed element of mutual coercion, and therefore potential tension, in the relations of in-laws. They rely upon a special, impartial jural instrument, the bride-price, for the adjustment of their rival claims on the woman.

Tallensi think of *deen* as a relationship for ever fraught with the possibility of conflict over these claims. Nearly all their litigation nowadays, like much inter-clan fighting in former days, concerns bride-price debts or the rival claims over a woman or her children of father-in-law and son-in-law. Such quarrels are incompatible with kinship. They would cut to pieces the solidarity of kinsfolk—that is why, say the Tallensi, kinsfolk do not marry. *Doŋam*, in short, presupposes some degree of identification of the parties concerned, mutual or common interests, and especially a bond of amity that excludes strife which might fix a permanent gulf between them.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

602 577 These norms of kinship the Tallensi regard as axiomatic, one might say as the *a priori* moral premisses of their social behaviour. Behind the utility of kinship in practical life and the jural and ritual sanctions that buttress kinship ties stands the notion of kinship as the rock-bottom category of social relations, inviolable in its own right. The root of this notion lies in the bond between parent and child and it reflects the fact that genealogical relationship is the binding medium of Tale social structure. The Tallensi are outspoken sceptics about human nature. They take it for granted that the ideal norms of kinship will often be violated. They know well, however, that they are usually effective and cannot be destroyed by the transgressions of individuals; for these, in the end, always bring their own revenge and are compensated for in the total flow of collective life. In any case, the lapses of individuals, and the fact that strong sanctions exist to check them, do not diminish the absolute, *a priori* character of kinship.

602 769 It is worth noting that economic reciprocity—which is a conspicuous element in kinship, especially among close kin—and jural rights and duties have a much less direct connexion with this fundamental assumption of kinship than religious bonds have. This is connected with the important place of ancestor worship in Tale society. To trace genealogical relationship it is necessary to recollect common ancestors; and if these have religious value, ritual allegiance to a common ancestor or ancestress inevitably forms an intrinsic feature of kinship ties and their most powerful sanction. The more distant a genealogical tie is, the more does it become a matter of moral and ritual, rather than of jural or economic, relations. We shall see this in more detail when we come to compare social relations within the domestic family with the relations of kinship outside the domestic family.

Two Classes of Kinship Relations

602 Any relation of kinship belongs to one of two classes. If people say 'We are *dɔŋam*', the basic analogy they have in mind is that of siblings. Two men who are cognatically related to the same lineage—e.g. two men who have a common maternal uncle's lineage (*ahɔb yir*) or whose fathers or grandfathers had a common maternal uncle's lineage—describe themselves thus. They visualize their relationship primarily as one of common though independent religious allegiance to a particular line of common ancestors, in sacrifices to whom they may both partake. By the operation of the lineage principle two lineages might consider themselves to be related in such a manner. Kɔnbameŋ and Pudiniba, two young men of the same clan but of different sections of the clan, were good friends. When I asked them how their friendship had arisen, they resorted, characteristically, to the idiom of kinship. Being members of the same clan is not a sufficient reason for so personal a relationship as friendship. The reason they adduced was that they were both sister's

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

sons (*ahɔs*) of the same Tɛnzugu clan. This had brought them together. Similarly, there is a much closer bond between Ziŋgan biis and Tambil biis, two of the five segments of Bɔɣayiedɔt yidɛm of Tɔngo, than between either of these segments and the other three segments, because their founding ancestors were sister's sons of the same clan.[1]

The other and more important class of kinship ties presupposes the analogy of the parent–child relationship. When a person says of another '*n-dɔɣume*—I have begotten (born) him', or, speaking of lineages, '*ti dɔɣabame*—We (my lineage) have begotten (born) them (their lineage)', what is meant is that the latter can trace a line of descent to the former or to the former's lineage. A man refers to a sister's son (*ahɔŋ*) or to a classificatory *ahɔŋ* in these terms. When I was staying at Kpata'ar, my servants received unusually generous hospitality and were obviously much more at ease than they had been at some places we had previously visited. I was several times told in explanation (on one occasion by some Kpata'ar children) that my two local boys were *dɔɣa* by the Kpata'ar na'ab's lineage. The father of one and the paternal grandfather of the other had been sister's sons of Kpata'ar. Again, two lineages can be related in this way, as, for instance, Nayasaa yidɛm of Kpata'ar and Dmanpiog yidɛm of Gbeog are. The most important feature of such a relationship to the natives is that the lineage or individual of the senior generation sacrifices to their or his ancestors on behalf of the lineage or individual of the junior generation.

The idiom of kinship has such a dominant place in Tale thought that all social relations implying mutual or common interests tend to be assimilated to those of kinship. This happens, as has been shown in our previous volume, with ties of local contiguity and of politico-ritual interdependence between lineages and clans.

The Native Theory of Conception

The Tallensi, we have said, take cognizance of a very wide range of genealogical relationships, and they regard all such relationships as based on the physical fact of consanguinity. The starting-point for this lies in their notions about the physiology of conception. In their view man and woman have equally vital roles in the act of conception. Hence kinship through one's mother, and, consequently, through her ascendants, counts equally with—though admittedly less influentially than, and differently from—kinship through one's father and paternal line.

Dɔɣam is the power of procreation. In women it is connected with menstruation, the external signs and periodicity of which are known to everybody, and the nature of which man, woman, or child readily refers to without the slightest squeamishness. A girl is said to be fit for child-bearing (*u saɣa dɔɣam* [*or dɔɣabu*]) when her monthly courses become established, her breasts develop, and her body takes on womanly

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 211 ff.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

has a medicine which enables women to conceive without the participation of a male.

The notion of a procreative essence as distinct from the sexual fluid, however vaguely formulated it is, is of importance. Tallensi distinguish between sexual vigour or desire and the power of procreation. They know that people who are sterile (*kundɔɣar*) lack the latter but are not necessarily deficient in the former. Na'abzɔ, gossip said, was sterile because in his wild young days as a soldier he had lived with a Dagban woman who had maliciously caused him by some magical means to 'pour away all his power of begetting (*kpaa u dɔɣam waabi bah*)' in excessive intercourse with her. The uncharitable believed that he was impotent to boot, but others were prepared to give him the benefit of the doubt.

The Tallensi regard *dɔɣam* as, above all, a very precious human function, quite apart from the pleasures of sex. Thus, when Zikihib's young wife was left a grass widow for three years by her vagabond husband and had a child by a lover, it was unanimously condoned. Was she, it was argued, to cast away her powers of child-bearing for nothing (*say u dɔɣam bah wari*) just because she had a faithless husband and was herself too devoted to her children by him to run off with another man?

Lastly, the notion of the *ŋaamis* is the point at which mystical beliefs enter into the theory of conception. The obvious physiological facts of parenthood are summed up in the maxim, 'A man and a woman unite to procreate a child'. But behind plain physiology lies a mystery. Sometimes a man sleeps with his wife on a single occasion and she becomes pregnant (*u ŋɔɣa puur*—lit. she seizes a belly). At other times a man has relations with his wife regularly for months and she fails to conceive. Thus conception depends, in the last resort, on Heaven (*Naawun*), the Final Cause by which the Tallensi rationalize chance and which they invoke when empirical or less recondite mystical explanations fail. There is an essential mystical factor in procreation; and if a man or a woman fails to beget or bear a child, appeals can be made to the ancestor spirits and other mystical powers that intervene directly in human destiny. That is why a barren woman in her heart of hearts never gives up hope of having a child as long as she is still of child-bearing age, though the Tallensi know that barrenness is often a fact of nature beyond cure by either empirical or mystical agencies.

The Significance of Paternity and Patriliny

A person's genealogical ties are fixed by his parentage. Among the Tallensi these are the ties that plot the trajectory of the individual's life. The rights and duties that are critical for his role and status in society all stem, in the last resort, from the fact of birth. A person cannot divest himself, or be divested, of the bonds created by his birth and yet remain a member of the society; nor can he fully and unconditionally acquire

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

602 these bonds except by birth. No other ties can wholly supersede them in linking person to person and affiliating individuals to defined social groups.

602 611 We have noted, however, that not all genealogical ties have an equal value. Though a person acquires significant social ties through both parents, his agnatic relationships have an outstanding importance; and this is particularly so for a man. For not only is patrilineal descent the vertebral principle of Tale social organization and the vehicle of the continuity and stability of the social structure, but men hold the reins of authority, direct economic life, control the political organization, and are supreme in religious and ceremonial thought and action. From his father a man derives his rights to inherit land and other property, his clan membership and the political rights and ritual obligations that go with it, and his ritual relations with his most important ancestors. A woman does not inherit land or other property of value, nor does she succeed to political or ritual office. But clan membership and the concomitant totemic observances,[1] as well as her ritual allegiance to her patrilineal ancestors, mean a great deal for her social destiny and for her children. In short, paternity is the predominant side of parentage in this conspicuously patriarchal society.

842 848 Like many other primitive societies, the Tallensi recognize a distinction between physiological paternity and jural paternity—between *genitor* and *pater*, as Radcliffe-Brown puts it. However, the Tallensi feel very strongly that a person's physiological father is his or her right jural father. The assumption is that all the social attributes that come to one from one's father should come from a father who both begot one and recognizes one as his legitimate offspring. Thus there is an inevitable tendency for conflict to arise if a person's physiological and jural paternity do not coincide. Such a person tends to be penalized in respect of his social status, for jural paternity by itself cannot altogether take the place of physiological cum jural paternity.

848 The conflict is least in the case of an adulterine child, who is always accepted as the rightful child of its mother's husband. No difficulties at all arise in the case of a daughter, who marries out of the lineage as soon as she is nubile. An adulterine son has complete and unreserved filial status. He has full rights of inheritance, of succession, and of ritual access to his putative patrilineal ancestors. Nevertheless, the blot on the scutcheon is not without effect. The story of Sayəbazaa's first-born son, Kologo, illustrates this.

848 578 Some years before my first visit to Tongo, Kologo had left his father to go and farm near Datɔk. There seemed to be no adequate motive for this in his case. But when Sayəbazaa died, in 1936, and Kologo as chief mourner had to be summoned for the mortuary rites, I was able to piece together how it had occurred, from guarded hints and veiled comments

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. ix.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

insulted or molested; for it was held to be both good policy and a moral duty to treat a slave no differently from a son. As the ward of the lineage ancestors, he had a place and a moral status in the lineage; but, Tallensi say, he was bound to harbour some resentment at his invidious social position, and would certainly try to abscond if he were ill-used.

These ideas are as active as ever among the Tallensi; for a few ex-slaves still survive, and there are one or two sons, grandsons, and remoter agnatic descendants of slaves in many settlements, who, by the lineage principle, retain their ancestors' social status in a much attenuated form. These people have exactly the same place in society that they would have occupied in former times. To judge by their participation in social activities, both profane and ceremonial, there is no obvious distinction between them and other members of the clan. They are as loyal and patriotic members of the clan as any other members of it. Wəla of Zoo always took a leading part in the public affairs and ceremonial activities of Zoo. I was surprised to discover accidentally that he was an ex-slave. I was told on excellent authority that he is still often teased about his slave status, but that he takes it in good part, saying that since the coming of the white man a slave is as good a man as his neighbour. Usually no one would so affront a man and his quasi-relatives as to refer pointedly to his slave status or descent if he did not provoke it by offensive conduct. Wrongly to accuse a person of slave descent, if only by implication, is a deadly insult. And even those of whom it is true never voluntarily betray it. Not everyone has Wəla's aggressive sense of humour, and good manners require that tact and discretion be exercised in such delicate matters of social standing.

Analogously, a slave girl's (*da'abpɔk*) status resembled that of an illegitimate daughter. She was taken in marriage like any other girl, so her children had no disabilities in respect of their patrilineal connexions. They regarded their mother's quasi-paternal kin as their maternal uncle's lineage. But I have records of cases in which the descendants of a slave woman have sought out her true paternal kin in a distant land in order to establish correct ritual ties with them.

All the men with whom I discussed the question affirmed without hesitation that it would be disgraceful and immoral to treat a slave, or an illegitimate son or brother, differently from true agnatic kin. But they all emphasized, nevertheless, that a slave or an illegitimate son cannot possibly become a son or a brother in the full sense of these terms. He can be to you *in loco filii* or *fratris* but not *filius* or *frater*, since he cannot sacrifice directly to his quasi-father's spirit or inherit, as of right, his patrimony. The principle at issue is that physical father and social father, *genitor* and *pater*, must be the same person. The vicissitudes of marriage illustrate the same point.

It often happens that a young woman becomes the bride of one man, is later married to another man, by whom she conceives or has a

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

child, and finally returns to settle down with her first husband. The second husband (or his heir) then has the right, at any time during its life, to redeem his begotten child by paying over to the woman's father a proportion of the bride-price equal to one cow. Whether he has or has not completed the formalities of marriage is immaterial. His right rests upon the fact of his acknowledged paternity. Tallensi attach so much importance to having children that they generally make every effort to assert this right. But often enough, through poverty, parsimony, or mere indifference, the child may be left to grow up under the care of its stepfather. There is no difficulty in the case of a girl. When she marries, her stepfather receives one cow out of her bride-price, the cow of rearing (*ughug naah*), in recompense for the effort and expense of rearing her; her true father, or his heir, receives the remaining three head of cattle, one of which he hands over to his erstwhile father-in-law (or his heir) as the redemption payment for his daughter; and the girl's children regard her physical father's lineage, now formally established as her jural father's lineage, as their mother's paternal lineage.

The case of a boy is, again, more complicated. He may be accepted as his stepfather's own child, as if he were an adulterine child. In theory he cannot be excluded from any filial rights in this man's house. In practice his position is anomalous, both in his own estimation and in the eyes of his stepbrothers. The feeling exists that he is a member of his stepfather's clan on sufferance; sometimes a crisis develops when he tries to assert his rights of inheritance. In any case, Tallensi declare, when a boy in this position grows to manhood he usually endeavours, sooner or later, to return to his true paternal home (*kul u ba yiri*). I came across two or three instances of men who grew up with a stepfather and eventually returned to their true agnatic clan. One of them was quite an old man when he did so.

A man has an unconditional right to do this and must be accepted into his father's lineage and clan. He can assert his filial status without any reservations both in religious and in secular matters. To attempt to exclude him would be contrary to the Tale view that any addition to the numbers of a settlement is valuable in itself. What is more important, it would be a violation of the fundamental norms of kinship and therefore an offence against the ancestors, specifically against the new-comer's father and forefathers. Tallensi say that in fact no one would dream of rejecting a son who comes home in this way. The old man I have referred to not only superseded a 'brother' in the inheritance of his father's estate, but was elected tendaana over the heads of men who had dwelt in their natal settlement all their lives. The new-comer's jural status must, however, be regularized in the normal way. Either his father or his father's heir, or, if for some reason he is unable to do so, the man himself, must pay over to his mother's father's heirs the cow of redemption.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

The Ritual Coefficient of Patriliny

602 769 All these cases of irregular paternity bring out a point of central importance in native thought. As we shall see in more detail later, the bonds of physical consanguinity and the concomitant social ties created by parenthood are *ipso facto* spiritual and moral bonds. They have a ritual coefficient in which the natives see their deepest meaning and value. One's bonds with one's lineage imply a ritual bond with one's patrilineal ancestors and other mystical forces associated with the existence and well-being of the lineage. They are the chief mystical powers governing the life of the individual. Legitimate paternity is a *sine qua non* for a right relationship with one's agnatic ancestor spirits who watch over one's whole life from the moment of birth. There is a spiritual hiatus between an illegitimate son or a slave's son and his adoptive lineage ancestors. Being only indirectly under their tutelage, and unable to gain direct contact with them by offering sacrifices himself, he cannot use them to master the vicissitudes and frustrations of life as freely as a true scion of their line. Also, as we have seen, the ancestor spirits are the principal sanction enforcing a man's rights to full filial status in his physical father's lineage. As we have observed, political and ritual office can be held only by men who are legitimate members of the lineage in which these offices are vested; and the sanction for this lies in the key functions of these offices in the cult of the ancestors and of the other mystical powers coupled with the lineage.

834 842 769 All social relations in which agnatic descent has a decisive function have this ritual coefficient. Legitimate paternity is bound up with a man's exclusive rights over his wife's reproductive powers, conferred on him by marriage. A child's legitimate paternity is jeopardized if it is conceived or born in a situation in which its father's marital rights do not prevail. Hence, sexual intercourse between a man and his wife (and by extension between any man of the husband's medial lineage and a woman of the wife's medial lineage) at her paternal home is rigorously tabooed; it is a ritual 'pollution of the room (*sayam dug*)'—i.e. an outrage against the lineage identity—of the girl's father; for a woman has the status of a daughter in her father's house, where she comes under her father's authority and the tutelage of his ancestors.

611 769 In keeping with this, a child must not be born in its mother's father's, or brother's house. Its ties with its maternal kin must not be confounded with its bonds with its paternal kin. These represent opposed forces in its social world, and matrilateral kinship ties must not be allowed to become a threat to lineage ties. A woman bears a child to her husband, an additional member of his lineage and clan. When she conceives, it is the right and duty of her husband and his family to care for her. His ancestor spirits must guard her and the unborn child. In the perilous hour of childbirth she must be cared for by her husband and his family,

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

611 theoretically, without limit. In short, people of common uterine descent are socially identified with one another; but they do not form a corporate group.

611 The social recognition of the uterine line entails not only that *saarət* have defined ways of behaving towards one another, but also that the 602 fact of matrilineal descent is given an institutional embodiment. Matrilineal descent confers distinctive social attributes on people. In this Tale culture follows the rule found in most West African cultures that recognize both lines of descent.[1] The dominant line of descent confers the overtly significant attributes of social personality—jural status, rights of inheritance and succession to property and office, political allegiance, ritual privileges and obligations; and the submerged line confers certain spiritual characteristics. Among the Tallensi it is easy to see that this is a reflex of the fact that the bond of uterine descent is maintained as a purely personal bond. It does not subserve common interests of a material, jural, or ritual kind; it unites individuals only by ties of mutual interest and concern not unlike those that prevail between close collateral kin in our culture. While it constitutes one of the factors that counterpoise the exclusiveness of the agnatic line, it does not create corporate groups competing with the agnatic lineage and clan. Carrying only a spiritual attribute, the uterine tie cannot undermine the jural and politico-ritual solidarity of the patrilineal lineage.

Uterine Kinship and the Notion of Witchcraft

754 The critical spiritual attribute carried by the *soog* line is the poten-602 tiality of being a witch (*sɔi*, pl. *soob*—a term evidently cognate with *soog*). This potentiality adheres only to the female line and defines that line in social terms. 'This is my *soog*' a person usually says when introducing a uterine relative. 'If he (or she) flies magically (*ayat*) I, too, fly magically; if he sees magically (*nye*) I, too, see magically.' The potentiality of being a witch is hereditary in the female line. A woman's son and daughter may both become witches if she is a witch. If a person is accused of being a witch, all his or her *saarət* are automatically suspect of this inborn mystical vice. His agnatic kin are not implicated, not even his own father or his half-siblings by the same father. These are the points Tallensi invariably stress, both among themselves and in answer to an inquirer, if they are asked to define the meaning of *soog*.

754 It is significant that witchcraft occupies a minor place in Tale mystical thought and ritual action, and that is one reason why the Tallensi make no secret of its hereditary transmission in the female line. They

[1] Cf., e.g., R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti*; C. D. Forde, 'Kinship in Umor—Double Unilateral Organization in a Semi-Bantu Society', *American Anthropologist*, xli, 1939.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

have no clear notion of witchcraft, no detailed theories of its mode of operation, and no institutionalized means of combating or sterilizing it. A witch (*sɔri*) is supposed to fly about (*u ayarəme*) at night in the guise of a ball of fire; she—for the Tallensi tend to think of a witch as a woman, though they say that men may be witches too—is supposed to be clairvoyant, to 'see (*nye*)' hidden things. She can recognize fellow witches, foresee death coming to a particular person, prophesy an epidemic, and so forth; she may be beneficent, able to impart luck to a person in a mysterious way, or maleficent, killing people by eating (*ɔb*) their souls (*sii*). This is the sum of Tale ideas about the nature of witches. Actually, these qualities make up what is mainly an imaginary stereotype. One never hears of particular individuals being credited with the socially useful qualities or being suspected of possessing the anti-social qualities attributed to witches. Witchcraft is only attributed to people *ex post facto*, when an event occurs for which an explanation in terms of witchcraft is sought.

Witchcraft is something on the fringe of Tale mystical thought and ritual values. I have more than once heard elders of the most conservative way of thinking, to whom the native scheme of ritual values is the most important thing in life, declare roundly that there is no such thing as a witch. Though the Tallensi do not put it into clear words, they obviously feel that the idea of witchcraft is a mixture of superstition and folk-lore, and not a part of the system of mystical and ritual values that really matters for the conduct of life. Of course, superstition and folk-lore are not wholly negligible. Circumstances occur, now and then, in which people fall back on the idea of a witch's occult aggression in order to cope with anxieties and frustrations that are normally neutralized through the agency of the ancestor cult; and then a particular person may be accused of being a witch. Significantly, in every case that has come to my notice, some dating back twenty or thirty years and all of them together numbering less than ten, the accused has been a woman. Most accusations of this sort are in the first instance made by women against co-wives, and are symptomatic of the tensions inherent in the joint family.

An accusation of being a witch is the private affair of the accused's husband and his maximal lineage, her paternal family, and those of her *saarət* who are in touch with her. In former days, if the accusation was confirmed by a diviner, the accused might insist on undergoing the arrow ordeal (*kuh zɔ-peema*), or be compelled to do so by her husband's lineage and her *saarət* in order to prove her innocence. She had to stab herself with a poisoned arrow in public at the same time as a branch of a *heykaŋ* (Ficus) tree was plucked; and if she were guilty, it was believed that she would die before the branch withered. But it is characteristic of the Tale attitude to witches that a person who died thus was accorded a proper funeral—unlike, for example, a person who

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

754 dies of small-pox—and that the decision was not accepted as conclusive
602 by her *saarət* whom it directly implicated. A proven witch's uterine
[593] kin, her children in particular, felt the shame for a time, but they were not publicly stigmatized or penalized. Even the husband of an apparently guilty woman would, judging by what happens nowadays, very often continue privately to believe in her innocence; and if he admitted her guilt would not allow this to influence his relations with his children by her.

754 The public attitude to a witch nowadays is illustrated by the following
574 case which occurred during my stay among the Tallensi. A young man
602 from Yinduuri went to visit a kinsman at Moyaduur. Arriving at his kinsman's house, he was offered some cold porridge by an old woman of the house who happened to be the only person at home. Now, cold porridge is not a dish to offer to a guest. The poorest native would blush with shame if he had nothing better to put before a visitor. But in this instance the young man was weary and hungry after a long tramp. His kinsman was not at home to offer him more seemly hospitality and the old woman had nothing else. So he accepted it gladly.

754 Later in the day, on his way home, the youth was suddenly taken ill
627 with what soon proved to be acute dysentery. He at once thought of
787 the old woman's cold porridge and told his family of this when he reached home. Next day he died. Thereupon his father accused the old woman of having bewitched the youth through the medium of the cold porridge, and so caused his death. Her unconventional hospitality and the sequence of events seemed to leave no doubt about her guilt. There was, it is true, no obvious motive, but this was not taken into consideration. Indeed, as one man remarked, the youth was himself partly to blame, for no self-respecting adult would eat cold porridge at someone else's house. However, the old woman was sent for and the matter submitted to divination. As the dead youth's clansmen had no doubt about her guilt, it is not to be wondered at that the diviner declared her to have bewitched him. In vain she protested her innocence. The head of the youth's maximal lineage told all his people to mock (*wool*) her with a derisive chant. Neighbouring clans took up the chant, as she passed on her way home, and some weeks later it was made the theme of one of the dance songs of the Golib Festival. 'Wherever she goes', my informants said, 'men, women, and children will look askance at her and jeer at her for being a witch. Shame and grief will dog her,
[626] and she will pine away and die.' It was for fear of this kind of public ostracism that anyone accused of being a witch in the old days insisted on undergoing the arrow ordeal.

754 The main reason why witchcraft is of minor significance in Tale
[771] mystical thought is because the elaborate ancestor cult and the Earth cult deal adequately with most social and psychological tensions in terms consistent with the total social structure. The idea of witchcraft is not

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

It is analogous to the way in which a man's agnatic descendants become liable for his sins, though it is not so rigorous and consequential in action as the responsibility for sins and delicts that adheres to the male line. *Tyuk* is connected primarily with males; though it is of minor significance in the social definition of uterine kinship, compared with witchcraft, it obviously fits in with the principles of Tale social organization in the same way.[1]

Uterine Kinship as a Personal Bond

As we have observed, the fundamental distinction between uterine kinship and agnatic descent is that the former does not give rise to corporate units of social structure. *Soog* is essentially a personal bond, a bond of mutual interest and concern uniting individual to individual. Witchcraft, similarly, is an individual act of mystical aggression due to personal malice against an individual. The model of the relations between *saarət* is the affection, devotion, and strong feeling of mutual identification that prevails between parent and child or between full siblings of the same sex. Its keynote is mutual trust as between equals. It is never thought of as a matter of rights and duties but as a matter of sentiment, of spontaneous goodwill and intimate, personal confidence. Hence the term *soog* is often loosely used to refer to someone with whom one has a relationship of a similar sort, or to denote a very close relative of a class of relatives, whether or not they are true *saarət*. An intimate and trusted friend is like your *soog*, the Tallensi say. Two daughters of the same lineage, but of unrelated mothers, married into a single joint family feel themselves to be particularly closely related and identified with each other by contrast with their conjugal family, and thus speak of each other as 'my *soog*'. The children of two men who were uterine kin, keeping up the friendship of their fathers, talk of themselves as *saarət*. Two men of the same lineage, whether they are close or distant agnates, who have a common maternal uncle's lineage (*ahəb yiri*)—i.e. whose mothers' brothers belong to a single segment of a maximal lineage—feel a bond of personal kinship distinguishing their relationship with each other from their relationships with their co-members of the lineage. In contexts where they wish to emphasize their personal bonds in contrast to their common membership of the lineage they might describe each other as 'my *soog*'. And I once heard a man refer to his son-in-law as 'my *soog* son-in-law (*n-deem-soog*)'. This is a contradiction in terms, for marriage being prohibited between kin of any degree, a man cannot be both a son-in-law and a *soog*. But the speaker explained that he was using this term in order to distinguish

[1] There is an interesting psychological problem here, but it lies outside our present scope. *Tyuk* and witchcraft might be regarded as the male and female aspects, respectively, of deep-seated vindictive impulses connected with the mother.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

606 611 602 this son-in-law from his other sons-in-law, both because this young man was the husband of his own daughter, whereas the others were the husbands of his dead brothers' daughters, and because this son-in-law was as devoted to him as his own sons. Tallensi often say that a man's own children are virtually his *saarət*, though not technically so. There is no confusion in the native mind about these usages of the concept of *soog*; they understand and explain clearly that these are metaphorical usages.

835 The feeling of close, personal intimacy in the relationship of uterine kin is best brought out in the native attitude about sexual relations between *saarət*. It is incestuous if the couple know they are *saarət*, however distant their uterine connexion. It is like incest between own brother and sister, and is viewed in the same way as the latter. Tallensi think of it with disgust rather than horror. Sexual desire for a known *soog* relative is so utterly inconsistent with the general attitude of uterine kin towards each other that it is unthinkable in a decent person. It is a taboo (*kihər*) which normal people take for granted. There are no ritual or jural sanctions against incest with a *soog*, and Tallensi would say that there is no need for them. At no point are the relations of uterine kin subject to sanctions; 'I will not refuse him, I will not deny him anything', says the native of a *soog*, thinking of this as an axiomatic feature of *soog* kinship.

582 602 Marriage between *saarət* is, of course, forbidden, and the elders of the lineages concerned would never allow it if the couple are known to be uterine kin. But sometimes, owing to the devious ramifications of uterine kinship, a married couple discover that they are distant *saarət*. [586] If there are no children, or the elders of the girl's lineage want a pretext for taking her from her husband, they might insist on the dissolution of the marriage. If a child has been born, or the couple refuse to part for any other reason, their kinship must be ritually severed. The rite is very simple. The essential act consists of the husband and wife grasping a calabash with one hand each and wrenching it in halves. This symbolizes the splitting (*bɔk*) of their kinship.

602 It is not uncommon for a man to have one or more *saarət* (other than his siblings) among the members of his own clan. They may be the sons of one mother by different fathers, or the sons of sisters, or of more distantly related uterine kinswomen who married into the same clan. In such cases one can see how the loyalties based on uterine kinship are distinguished from the ties of lineage membership. Yikpɛmdaan and Tinta'alɔm of Tɔŋ-Kuorɔg, the two senior elders of Kuorɔg section, are *saarət*, but members of different segments of the section. Tinta'alɔm's children and brothers' children speak of Yikpɛmdaan as their father (*ba*); Yikpɛmdaan and Tinta'alɔm speak of each other as brothers, since their mothers were full sisters. Their mutual affection and attachment, going back to the childhood of Yikpɛmdaan, when he lived for a time with Tinta'alɔm, are well known. Tinta'alɔm

3: Fortes E-5 / (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

never undertakes anything of importance without consulting Yikpɛmdaan; Yikpɛmdaan need never be in want of a sheep or goat to sacrifice if there are sheep and goats in Tinta'alɔm's house. If any member of the lineage segment of which Tinta'alɔm is the head gets into difficulty, he goes at once to Yikpɛmdaan for counsel and help.

A more telling case is that of Lɔyani and Gai. They belong to different segments of Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra.[1] Many years ago Gai quarrelled with the elders of the maximal lineage over the succession to the lineage *bɔyar*. The Yakɔra Tɛndaana of the time took an oath binding all the people of Yakɔra to have nothing to do with Gai in jural and ritual matters until he apologized and a ritual reconciliation was made. Gai and his family keep aloof from all corporate activities of Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra. He has obstinately rejected several indirect advances made to him suggesting a reconciliation. One day there was a funeral at Gai's house, and I called to see how a man who is virtually ostracized by his clan would manage an affair that is usually a corporate activity of the whole clan. Finding no other Yakɔra people at the funeral, I went round to Lɔyani's house afterwards. We discussed Gai and his affairs; and Lɔyani, with that blunt candour that has won him general esteem, told me the whole story. Gai's conduct, Lɔyani concluded, was specially distressing to him. 'For', said he, with a trace of bitterness, 'Gai is my *soog*. I should be the one to go to his help immediately and to support him in all his troubles. But if I did, would not the people of Zubiuŋ say that I was breaking faith? Would I not be rejecting the oath of the late (Yakɔra) Tɛndaana? And so I can do nothing.'

In this case Lɔyani's position of influence and responsibility in the maximal lineage compels him to put the interests of lineage unity before those of his *soog*, and Gai's obduracy makes it more difficult for him to compromise. The case of Ɔndieso and Nɛna'ab, who are also *saarɔt* belonging to different segments of the same maximal lineage, is more usual. They 'borrow (*pɛŋ*)' things from each other on the same principle as do members of an expanded family. Normally, if a man borrows something from a member of a lineage segment other than his own, it is a debt that must be repaid in due course. Eight or nine years ago, Ɔndieso borrowed a goat from Nɛna'ab's son. No request was ever made for repayment; but about three years later, Nɛna'ab borrowed three shillings from Ɔndieso; and this was tacitly understood, by both, to have cancelled the debt of the goat. In 1936 an ancient quarrel between Ɔndieso's segment and Nɛna'ab's segment that had been dormant for years flared up again owing to a dispute over the inheritance of a widow. For some months the two segments were completely estranged, the more so as the head of Nɛna'ab's segment had taken the dispute to the chief and so brought the slur of publicity on the head of Ɔndieso's segment. Just then there was a death in Nɛna'ab's family;

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. vi, passim.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

602 578 and Ɔndieso was one of the first to come to the help of his *soog* in his sorrow. The other members of Ɔndieso's segment demonstratively remained away.

602 Other ties of matrilateral kinship also create bonds of personal attachment between members of the same maximal lineage, but none is so effective as that of uterine kinship.

The Dispersion of Uterine Kin

602 582 591 The majority of a person's uterine kin are, however, dispersed among other clans than his own. This is a natural result of the rule of clan exogamy. But Tallensi, as we shall see later,[1] tend to marry into nearby clans rather than into distant clans. A woman of clan A marries into the adjacent clan B; her daughters marry into the next clans C and D; their daughters marry into clans E and F; and so the process goes on. The result is, firstly, that with the passage of the generations the uterine line becomes more and more dispersed; and secondly, that any person's genealogically nearest uterine kin are also, generally, his spatially nearest uterine kin. In practice, it is these near *saarət* whom he knows and knows of; it is they who are concerned in witchcraft accusations or *tyuk* guilt. His more distant *saarət*—distant in both the genealogical sense and in residence—are often unknown to him. The main reason for this is that uterine kinship remains effective only through personal contact. The children of sisters know one another because their mothers have kept in touch, visited one another, and often helped one another all their lives. Similarly, the uterine grandchildren of sisters know one another, if they live near one another, because their mothers have kept in touch, though not so faithfully as true siblings. Often these contacts are maintained into the fourth generation of a woman's uterine descendants; rarely beyond the fourth generation; and a person does not, as a rule, know all his or her *saarət* whose link with him or her is a common great-grandmother. Some of them will, as likely as not, be Gərisi or Namnam and he will not even know of their existence.

602 [769] In principle, however, uterine kinship is never extinguished, and it often happens that people of different clans, who are strangers to one another, discover by chance that they are distant *saarət*. Supposing, for instance, a man proposes to make an important sacrifice to a lineage ancestor. His agnatic co-descendants of this ancestor are bound to be present; but he will also send to tell the cognatic descendants through women of that ancestor and some of them will come. Two men of different clans may be present who now discover, for the first time, that they are cognatically related through the lineage of their host. They trace out their genealogical connexion (*tumh dɔŋam*) and find that they are distant *saarət*. I have seen this happen more than once, and the delight of the men concerned was a vivid testimony to the meaning

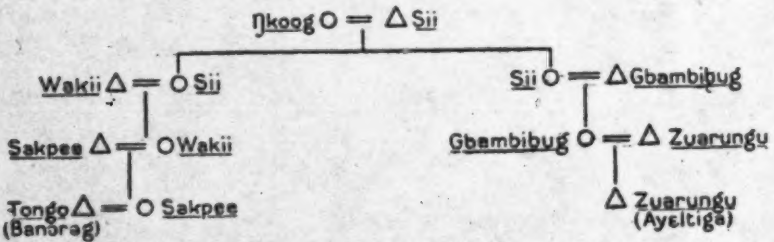
[1] Cf. Ch. XI.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

of *soog* kinship to the Tallensi. Each of them has found a new friend who will be to him as a brother. If he has business in his *soog*'s clan he will be able to go there with an easy mind; for he will be assured of an hospitable welcome in his *soog*'s house and of his *soog*'s assistance in his suit. Moreover, through this *soog* he will be introduced to other distant *saarət* unknown to him but known to his *soog*.

Saarət discover one another in other ways too. One evening I met Banərəg's wife coming from my boys' quarters. She told me that she had taken some food to one of the boys, Ayɛltiga, a native of Zuarungu, who, she had just learnt, was her *soog*. She had been to see her maternal grandmother's sister's son, at Gbambibug (she herself is a Sakpee woman), and he had told her that Ayɛltiga was their common *soog*. So she had hastened home to call on her newly found *soog* and had cooked a meal for him to show him the hospitality due from a *soog*. She told me this with many expressions of pleasure.

The following genealogy shows the connexion between Banərəg's wife and Ayɛltiga. It is typical of the genealogical range within which uterine kinship is usually effective.



(Clan name of each person beside the sex symbol; personal names in parenthesis)

As this genealogy shows, the uterine line can be thought of as 'travelling' from clan to clan with the generations; and that is how the natives visualize it. 'Our mother' (the progenitrix of the line), said Banərəg's wife 'went forth from Dkoog (*yi ŋkoog na*) and married into Sii; and then his (Ayɛltiga's) grandmother (*ma kpeem*) married Gbambibug and my grandmother married Wakii; and then his mother (*ma*) married Zuarungu and my mother married Sakpee.' The *soog* line is visualized as a continuous entity. *Saarət* often refer to each other by kinship terms, but in a very loose way. A person is inclined to speak of a *soog* as, for instance, 'my elder sibling', simply because he or she is senior in age, though possibly junior in generation. More commonly a *soog* is simply 'my *soog*'; and if it is a woman, she tends to be identified with the uterine line as a whole and is described as 'mother (*ma*)', irrespective of her generation status; especially if she is older than the speaker. A relationship similar to that of parent and child often exists between *saarət* who differ considerably in age.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

602 The usual range of effective uterine kinship is a good illustration of the correlation between spatial relationships and genealogical relationships in the social space of the individual. The physical range of the individual's social contacts and communication with others is, as we have already noted, a function of his range of social relations, which is determined principally by his genealogical connexions. In the days before the establishment of the British peace, matrilateral, and especially uterine kinship, played a very important part in enabling people to travel outside their normal range of social contacts, and so to build up social relations with members of clans usually inaccessible to their own clansmen. A story will illustrate how this occurred.

602 574 484 When the Gorogo-Yikpɛmdaana was a young man of 17 or 18, sometime during the first decade of this century, a food shortage approaching famine, such as periodically swept the country, descended on the Tallensi. He decided to make a journey to Gbimis, in Mampurugu, across the White Volta, in order to barter some livestock for grain. But such a journey was full of peril. A Talǝŋ wandering in Mampurugu would be set upon and killed or taken as a slave by any armed Mamprusi who encountered him. So he went, first, to a *soog* at Pwalagu. This man escorted him across the river to another *soog* living in a small village there, and this *soog* conducted him to Gbimis. Under the safe conduct of his Mampuru *saarǝt* he was able to carry out his project. In later years he often made this trip to Mampurugu to buy things for resale in the small markets of Taleland.

Though people can travel where they will in freedom and security nowadays, it is still usual for anyone having business of a ritual or jural kind with a distant or unfamiliar clan to follow the web of uterine kinship thither. The route is much curtailed, but the principle remains. If Banǝrǝg's wife's brother, a Sakpee man, has such business at Bongo, he will probably go to his *saarǝt* at Zuarungu, stay the night with them, go on next morning to a *soog* at Yaraga, and find out from him or her if they have a *soog* at Bongo with whom he could stay and who will guide him and act as his spokesman with *his* clansmen.

602 476 431 In the same way uterine kin assist one another in economic matters. A man who loses time in his farming programme through illness will often ask a *soog* from a neighbouring settlement to come and do a day's hoeing for him where he would not ask for such help from a clansman. Again, crops do not ripen at the same time throughout Taleland. There may be an interval of several days or several weeks between the harvest at Sii and the harvest at Datok. It is the custom, at harvest time, especially at the time of the early millet harvest after the hungry months, for people living in areas that have a late harvest to 'beg (*soh*)' gifts of grain from relatives living in early harvesting areas. Later, when the early harvesting settlements have exhausted their supplies, people will go to kinsfolk in later harvesting areas to beg for grain to tide them

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

over. Such reciprocal gifts pass between kinsmen of all categories. But the giving is specially generous and cordial between *soog* kin.

In keeping with the unrestricted range of cognatic kinship among the Tallensi, the close ties of kinship between male *saarət* are extended to their children and sometimes to their grandchildren. With men whose fathers were *saarət*, whether they belong to the same clan or not, the formal ties of kinship are often mellowed by the affection and trust of a friendship like that of their fathers. This is rarer with grandsons of male *saarət*, but not unknown. I have seen a man break down with grief over the death of a clansman who was his father's *soog*'s son. He would have felt no sense of personal loss at all if this extra bond had not existed between him and his dead clansman. Again, there was Tiezien of Kpata'ar's lifelong friendship with his father's *soog*'s son at Zuarungu—a friendship which would not normally have arisen between a Talǝŋ and a Gǝrǝŋ living eight miles apart.

A link of uterine kinship is often used to define the relations of individuals who are not themselves directly related by kinship. A typical case that shows how far the classificatory principle can be pressed, if there is a *soog* link in the chain of relationships connecting two people, is the following. Zaawɔmya of Bunkiuk began courting the young widow of a Wakii man. But in the course of making inquiries he discovered that the girl's late husband's father's mother and his own mother had been distant *saarət*. Zaawɔmya concluded, therefore, that the girl's late husband's father would have stood to him in the relationship of an 'older brother' (*bier*), since he would have called the latter's mother his 'mother' (*ma*). Hence the girl's husband would have been his 'son' (*bii*) and the girl herself his 'daughter-in-law' (*sampɔya*). 'Well just think of it', he said to me, when he told me the story, 'how can a man marry his daughter-in-law? So I gave it up.' When Mansami, Ɔmara's own father's brother's son ran away with the wife of Ɔmara's father's *soog*'s son at Dkoog, there was a bitter quarrel between them. Ɔmara accused Mansami of disgracing his (Ɔmara's) kinship ties and ordered him either to give up the girl or leave the homestead. Mansami, obstinately insisting that he and the girl's husband were not related, made this the pretext for keeping her and went off to stay with his mother's brother. Such roundabout connexions through a *soog* link are often exploited for ulterior motives. A common trick of fathers who object to a daughter's marrying a particular man is to allege a remote kinship tie of this sort between the girl and her suitor. The latter and his family head may be sceptical of the alleged evidence for this but they can do nothing about it.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

desirous of having, and are indulgent to, a young wife (*pɔɣabil*), not only for sexual motives but also, and mainly, in order to have a strong young woman about the house to administer those creature comforts to which they are said to become more and more addicted as they grow older. Thus siblings by the same father (*ba ukɔla biis*) may differ in age by as much as a generation. A man's younger half-brother or sister may be younger than his own children though senior to them in generation. This has important effects on the lineage organization.

The custom of the levirate introduces a component of some significance in the constitution of the joint family. In the 61 domestic families of our sample there were 111 married men, and no less than 21—more than one in five—had one or more inherited wives. An inherited wife usually brings her young children by her first husband (if she has any) with her. They grow up side by side with her children by her second husband, who is responsible for their support. Tale kinship ideas make this a simple and self-evident arrangement; but it means, nevertheless, a division within what is normally the most compact and cohesive element of the domestic family, the matricentral *dug*, in accordance with the different paternity of the children. Generally a widow of child-bearing age marries a close agnate of her deceased husband—his brother or first cousin—who is, therefore, a close classificatory father of her children. This makes it easy for them to regard her second husband with some of the devotion and affection due from children to their own father, especially if they are still very young. Still, this is a weak place in the cohesion of a family, at which a split easily occurs; for no man, say the Tallensi, can wholly take the place of one's true father. If a widow marries a distant agnate of her late husband, the latter's heir may demand the custody of his children when they are old enough to do without a mother's care. This splits the *dug*. But it also creates compensatory bonds of uterine (*soog*) kinship between her sons belonging to different lineage segments.

Sometimes a man's dependants include a deceased brother's children whose mother has died or married out of the family. Such children are, for all practical purposes, his own children, but the sons frequently secede when they have children. Much less commonly, a man may have an orphaned sister's son (*ahəŋ*) living with him in as intimate a relationship, ostensibly, as if he were his son or brother. Actually, both jural and sentimental reservations hedge round a sister's son's position in the family, for his descent bars him, in the last resort, from ever acquiring real filial status.[1] It is significant that in the old settlements extremely few cases of this kind occur, and it is always assumed that the nephew will eventually return to his natal settlement—though he does not always do so. In the new settlements, where personal kinship ties largely replace lineage ties as the basis of local aggregation, not only sororal

[1] Cf. Ch. XI below.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

people are absolutely alike. Peculiarities of personality and character, they say (and observation bears them out), qualify all social relationships. People conform to the norms but each in the light of his own experiences, his special circumstances, his personal idiosyncrasies. The same sort of events, the same kind of person-to-person relations, make up the life of every family; but they are combined in a unique way in the history of a particular family. They give a distinctive tone or atmosphere to the life of that family that can be more easily felt than described. I knew intimately six domestic families which I kept under observation for many months; I knew another dozen or so families fairly well, and spent many hours in yet other homes all over Taleland. I learnt to perceive, but I could never get below the surface of this affective ambient of family life. It is, indeed, difficult to find terms with which to convey the impression of smooth, equable, well-balanced running which a family like that of Ɔmara's makes on an observer, or the contrary impression of strain, or of inadequate co-ordination, which one sees in families like those of Kutɔbis of Tɔŋ-Dekpieng, or of Pumaan of Tɔŋ-Puhug.

Most Tale families seem to go on in a stable and harmonious way; but there are, as we shall see, very many possibilities of friction, some inevitable, some avoidable, which arise out of the cleavages inherent in the structure of the family. How long these forces of dissension remain dormant, or how they are handled when they thrust forward, depends very much on the character of the family head. A tactful and considerate family head like Ɔmara manages to keep a smooth discipline in his family and to maintain amicable relations with his neighbours, whereas an erratic man like Kutɔbis cannot keep his sons in check and is for ever at loggerheads with his nearest agnates. From the point of view of the structurally significant norms, this feature of Tale family life and of Tale kinship in general is important as underlying the elasticity of actual social behaviour within the limits of the norms, and as a dynamic factor in the cycle of changes that a family passes through.

One thing which puts a screen between an inquirer and the inner life of a family is the surprising degree of privacy a family can preserve. It is surprising in the circumstances of Tale social life. One's neighbours are one's nearest lineage kin. The lineage principle compels a man to consult and gain the support of these kin in any matter of importance, and he generally does so in trivial matters too. Men of the same lineage grow up together, play together in childhood, often work together as youths or men, constantly visit one another's homes, identify themselves with one another and act together in corporate affairs. Inevitably they know one another's personal history in detail. And this knowledge is not the mere stuff of gossip, but a real force in the corporate life of the lineage and the community, since the biography of the individual is a thread in the current history of the lineage, tying up with its common

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

602 interests and solidarity. This applies to women as well, if in a slightly lesser degree. Moreover, close cognates of different clans keep in touch sufficiently to know a great deal about one another's personal life.

592 In spite of this, domestic privacy is well guarded, for the essential life of the family goes on inside the homestead. There is a basis for this 262 in the rules of residence and in the domestic economy. Residential 576 autonomy is an index of economic autonomy. A household produces almost the whole of the food-supplies it consumes. Its neighbours, however closely related they are, can guess as to the sufficiency but cannot know the exact quantity of a household's food-supplies. Only the head of the household knows this. As we have seen, a major factor of differentiation between and within domestic units is the organization of food production and consumption. One can see this any evening when the chief meal of the day is eaten. It is prepared by the women and consumed by all the members of the household producing the grain. Meals are not regularly shared between separate households, even within the same domestic unit. The correct thing is for a person to take his usual meals at home amidst his own family. Most Tallensi would starve rather than deliberately scrounge (*bimh*) a meal off a kinsman who farms separately, even if the latter lives in the same homestead. Tallensi would think it a disgrace if their children made a habit of going to feed with neighbours, as is the custom in some primitive societies. A hungry child comes to its mother for food; it will not go to a neighbouring homestead in the hope of getting something to eat.

576 The etiquette of social intercourse indicates as clearly the degree to which domestic privacy is taken for granted. A visitor always announces 574 himself at the gateway. A kinsman, neighbour, or friend calls out, 521 informally, the name of the person he wishes to see, a stranger calls out *gafarra* ('excuse me'), and waits to be asked in. At night the family is usually gathered together inside its own homestead. In fine weather, especially if the moon is bright, men, women, and children spread themselves out in the senior woman's *dendɔŋo*, relaxing after the evening meal. If it is a large family a visitor will find them sprawling at ease in what seems a completely higgledy-piggledy huddle. The infants sleep in their mothers' arms, the smaller children doze on the hard gravel floor, the older children chatter in twos and threes, the grown-ups and the young men and girls talk of the day's happenings, yarn and gossip, or play at riddles. Generally, several different conversations go on at the same time. There may be visitors, a neighbour come on some business or suitors come courting one of the girls. A visitor can be seen in entire privacy. He or she is taken into one of the rooms, and no one would be so lacking in manners as to intrude. A young man visits his sweetheart [584] thus in her own home, and is entertained by her in complete privacy. Other members of the family know all about it, of course, but the sweethearts need not fear being disturbed.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

and wife, may suffer shipwreck. Many women leave a husband or are taken from him after bearing one child to him. Only after a woman has borne two or three living children to a man does this bond become a really effective force in maintaining the marriage.

The real foundation of a lasting marriage is not custom or jural or ritual sanctions, but a satisfactory relationship between the married pair; and this is a complex tissue woven of many strands, changing and strengthening with the years. It has elements that can be translated into terms of reciprocal rights, duties, and services. But it is essentially a moral and personal bond, a question of the mutual adjustment of roles and persons in pursuit of the interests married partners have in one another and in common, and the purposes they share. The sexual bond is of vital importance in this relationship.

The personality of a spouse is important. A lazy man who neglects to provide for his wife sufficiently, a harsh man who strikes her at the least provocation, a man who through sickness, impotence, or lack of consideration does not or will not give her sexual satisfaction, yet holds her jealously to her marital fidelity; any such man may find it hard to keep a wife. A lazy woman, a disobedient woman, a woman with a hasty temper or one who is a confirmed gadabout, is likely to have several husbands before she finally settles down. A barren woman, too, with her growing sense of frustration as the years pass, tends to become restless and to drift from husband to husband. Such a one is Gelima, Naabdiya's elderly sister, who has tried no fewer than eighteen husbands and has been compelled to seek a haven for her declining years in her brother's home. Barrenness is one of the reasons for which a man may decide to get rid of a wife, but often enough a barren wife who is a good worker and has a tractable disposition gains her husband's devotion and remains with him. Occasionally a wife proves to be a petty thief, who filches the supplies of other women of the household or stores put aside by the men. She will get short shrift, and will be sent back in disgrace, formally, by the head of her husband's *dug*; for such a person is bound to cause endless disturbance in the family. A woman accused of witchcraft by a co-wife may be dealt with similarly, it is said, but in the few cases I have heard of the husbands have not divorced the women. Lastly, no man will tolerate a wife who suffers from nocturnal enuresis, however attractive or proficient she may be. To urinate on the sleeping-mat during sleep is a grave mystical offence endangering the life of the husband; hence, a woman suffering from this complaint is formally sent back to her parents.

The Wife's Ties with Her Paternal Family and Lineage

These accidents of personality affect only a minority of marriages. The constant social factors that steer the course of every marriage are of greater significance to us, and must be examined more fully. When

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

602 593 a woman marries she does not forfeit her status as a daughter of her natal lineage (*pɔŋayabəlɔg*) or lose her personal ties with her parents and siblings. We have discussed this, in its broader aspects, in our previous volume[1] and confine ourselves here to family ties. Throughout her life she keeps in close touch with her parents and siblings and other members of her clan, especially her close agnates. If, as is common, other daughters of her clan have married into her husband's clan, these will be the classificatory co-wives with whom she has most contact and to whom she gives and from whom she receives most help, kindness, and support. She visits her natal settlement, as well as her sisters married elsewhere, regularly, and is often visited by members of her parental family. She not only has emotional bonds with her natal family that time never erases, but she also retains certain privileges, which have almost the force of rights, in it and in her natal clan, as we have shown in our previous volume. Her natal family and clan also have claims on her all her life. This is strongly marked in the first two or three years of marriage, before motherhood, habit, and an increasing share in its routine have knit her firmly into her conjugal family.

574 593 In the early years of marriage a woman seldom lets an opportunity of visiting her natal family go by. She calls in to see how they are on her way to or from market. Now and then she comes to stay a few days. If she is ill she will generally come to stay with her mother, who will tend her much more carefully than her co-wives or in-laws. When Tɔŋ-Yikpɛmdaan's daughter developed an asthmatic complaint she stayed with her parents for nearly a year. When Da'amo'o's wife went down with guinea-worm she took her three-months-old baby and went to her father's house until she was cured, though it is considered a risky thing to take so young an infant out of its father's house. At sowing or harvest time a man often sends for a young married daughter who has no child to come and help. At all times a married daughter is informed, and sometimes sent for, if there is serious sickness in her parental home. She must be sent for if a member of her parental family dies; and she will go even if it means leaving a tiny infant in the care of a co-wife for a day or two.

761 602 On this matter Tallensi are extremely sensitive, for death is the great test of all social ties among them. All relatives of the dead, and especially the principal mourners—parents, spouses, children, siblings—have defined ritual observances, ritual duties, and practical tasks in mortuary and funeral ceremonies. A death often comes as a shock to these close relatives, and especially the death of a parent or sibling to a married daughter of the family. Her mother-in-law or husband will break the news gently to her with a tactful periphrasis. But she must be told and sent for, else she—and, backing her up, her conjugal family—would be deeply offended. On her part, not to go when thus summoned would

[1] *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. ix.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

be a grievous sin against her parents and her ancestors, sure to bring misfortune on her and her children.

I was the unsuspecting witness of the strength of a woman's filial devotion, brought out by the crisis of death, at Sawɔŋba's burial ceremony. Sawɔŋba's daughter married a Tɛnzugu man against her father's wish. To add insult to injury, when Sawɔŋba sent messengers to demand a cow of the bride-price, his son-in-law turned them away with contempt. As the girl refused to leave her husband, Sawɔŋba cursed her, and, being a leper who knew he had not long to live, expressly forbade her to come to his funeral. She was not told of his death, but heard of it indirectly. On the day of the burial, during one of the major rites, there was a sudden commotion in the crowd around the gateway. A young woman dashed forward, making for the homestead. I could see the strained and agitated look on her face as she passed me. But at once one of Sawɔŋba's classificatory sons darted forward, seized her, and dragged her back to the tree where the elders sat. For a minute or two nothing but a wildly shouting mob could be seen under the tree. Then the girl struggled out, sobbing aloud, her body covered with bruises where she had been beaten by her enraged brothers and clansmen. Followed by execrations, she was escorted by one of the elders to where her husband and a party of his lineage kin were waiting. Only the fear of bloodshed, which would make the affair into that much-dreaded thing, a 'case for the white man (*nasaara yɛl*)', had restrained them from interfering. Sawɔŋba's sons and lineage kin did not see the pathos of their sister's action. They were thoroughly incensed, and called it an insult. Had her husband wished to behave properly, he would have sent an elder of his lineage to beg Sawɔŋba's pardon while he was still alive, or, at any rate, to beg the head of Sawɔŋba's medial lineage to intercede with his sons when he heard of Sawɔŋba's death.

These bonds of a woman with her parental family play an important part in Tale domestic economy. After the harvest there is always a great coming and going of daughters to and from their parental homes. And no man would let his daughter or sister depart, at this time, without a gift of a well-filled basket of grain. This is one way in which a woman builds up her own private resources out of which she provides little luxuries, utensils, and clothes for herself and by means of which she often tides the family over a lean period. This is a privilege, but it has almost the force of a right. Occasionally an elderly woman without a son, or, as sometimes happens nowadays, with her only son away for long in Ashanti or the Colony, is left without proper support in her husband's home. She can then go back to her father's home and is entitled to her sustenance as of right. The services a woman's husband renders to her father, now and then, in the early years of marriage, the interest she has in her brother's children, the importance attached to

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

593 kinship ties with the mother's brother and his lineage, are all evidence of the imperishability of a woman's ties with her parental family.

613 Last but not least, a woman continues all her life to be under the care of her patrilineal ancestors. She must observe their totemic taboos. One 769 of them is her spirit guardian (*sεγər*), to whom her husband will have to send animals on her behalf as sacrifices on critical occasions such as her first confinement, and from whose tutelage she must be ritually released on death. Whenever an important sacrifice to these ancestors takes place in her paternal home she is told, and has the right to participate and to receive a definite share of the sacrificial meat. She has duties to these lineage ancestors too. Thus whenever a shrine of a lineage founder passes to a new lineage head, a daughter of the lineage is [777] selected by divination to fetch it to its new home. Her good or ill fortune as wife and mother depends very much on that occult arbiter of life which the Tallensi conceive of as a personal Predestined Fate (*Nuor Yin*); and this is associated with one's patrilineal ancestors. [761 If a woman's children die one after another she is being dogged by an 789] evil Predestiny; and only her paternal kin can perform the ritual of exorcising it. Finally, when she dies, though she is buried by her husband's lineage according to their rites, and her spirit is aggregated to those of their ancestors, since it is her sons who will sacrifice to and worship her spirit, her paternal kin also perform a short and symbolic funeral ceremony for her. Thus she is 'brought home (*mar kul*)' to be received amongst her paternal ancestors, and the cycle of her life is completed.

The Opposition between the Kinship Ties and the Marital Ties of Spouses, and its Resolution

602 All her life a woman is subject to the pull of her patrilateral kinship ties. As a wife, however, she must submit more and more to the con- 593 trary pull of her marital ties. Her husband is even more strongly ruled by his ties with his natal family and patrilineal kin. Many of the chances and changes of marriage come down to the question of how the partners adjust themselves to the opposing loyalties and interests associated with their divergent kinship ties. A marriage reaches stability when the partners achieve common interests and mutual bonds strong enough to hold them together in the face of their respective patrilateral kinship ties. That is why the birth of children plays such a vital part in stabilizing a marriage.

602 Marriage, then, is in one aspect a unique relationship between one man and one woman; in this context, peculiarities of personality influence the fate of a particular marriage. In another aspect, or more accurately, perhaps, at the other end of the scale of marriage relations, it is a union between a man and a woman who represent and remain

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

members of two mutually exclusive corporate groups. That is why the lineages of husband and wife are implicated in the marriage and have a lasting interest in its course and in the offspring that come from it. Tale speech and etiquette reveal this, and the classificatory extension of affinal kinship depends on this. Thus if your friend's son or daughter has recently married, you do not ask him 'Whom did he (she) marry?', but 'Where (i.e. which clan) did he (she) marry?', and 'A child of whose house (i.e. what segment of the clan) did he (she) marry?'. We shall take up this thread again at a later stage of our analysis. At present we are concerned with the consequences for the relations of husband and wife of their divergent lineage ties.

The tension due to these opposing sets of social ties appears most acutely in the early stages of marriage, obviously as a result of the fact that marriage is an alliance between two genealogically independent corporate units with rival interests in the protagonists. Every marriage in which the husband is a young man begins as a struggle, carried on with many wiles, stratagems, pretexts, and even threats of or recourse to force. Firstly, the suitor has to compete with other young men whom his would-be bride and in-laws often play off astutely against him. The largest part of his courtship consists in winning over the girl's parents with frequent presents and soft words. To elope with her he must buy the secret connivance of her mother or brother, for her father will always stand out for a negotiated marriage. This is not only an acknowledgement of the father's right to dispose of his daughter's hand, but a guarantee of the consent of the bridegroom's guardian and lineage elders and hence of the payment of the bride-price on demand. It is a defeat for the bridegroom, who has to bow to the will of his father-in-law.

The real struggle begins, however, only after a man succeeds in carrying off his bride by elopement. If the elders on both sides tacitly accept the match as a good one, it becomes a matter of mere formality; but all the conventions of the jural transactions necessary to make a legitimate marriage are couched in the idiom of a struggle between hostile groups. That is why they must take place through an intermediary, the *poyaama*, a clansman of the bridegroom and a cognatic kinsman of the bride, bound to hold an even balance between the two parties by reason of his kinship with both.[1] But often enough the struggle turns into a genuine and sometimes acrimonious battle for the girl which may go on for weeks or months. It is then that the lack of a constituted legal system in Tale political organization makes itself felt. The girl's father resorts to all sorts of devices to coerce her abductors. He may use ritual pretexts, exploit ties of cognatic kinship with the abductors' lineage or clan, even, in extremity, threaten to kill himself on their doorstep, or, in the old days, to stir up war against their clan. I have been present at several violent altercations between a party of men

[1] Cf. pp. 317–18 below.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

578 come to demand a runaway daughter and her would-be husband's lineage elders. The young man will hide the girl with friends, or use
602 other stratagems to keep her, backed up for the time being, and chiefly
627 for form's sake, by his lineage elders. But later he may have a struggle with the head of his nuclear lineage if he is opposed to the marriage. It is not until the formal placation gift (*sndaan*) is sent to the girl's father with his consent and that of his lineage elders, that a truce comes, and not until the first instalment of the bride-price is paid that a promise of peace appears—which may not be for months, or even for a couple of years.

675 The placation gift and the bride-price provide an objective instrument
583 by means of which the two lineage segments which are the parties to a marriage can balance their divergent interests in and opposing rights over the woman. It is the instrument that separates the woman from her natal family—or rather, it separates her role as wife from her role as daughter, her subordination to her husband from her subjection to her father, so that the conflict between these roles is kept in check.

583 That is the meaning of the rule I once heard summed up in the
576 maxim: 'A woman must not be at her father's house when they (her husband's people) send the placation gifts. That is a taboo.' The young man who said this was protesting at the breach of this rule forced upon him by the unscrupulous action of one of the leading elders of his clan. The rule applies both to the placation gift and to the bride-price.

574 A newly wed wife, therefore, often finds herself torn between her
593 desire to be with her husband and her loyalty and sense of duty to her parents, enhanced as this is by her respect for parental authority. Tallensi realize that she must be weaned from her attachment to her parents. Thus for the first month or two of marriage a young wife is not allowed to visit her parents, lest, as the natives say, her longing for her mother should get the better of her and she should refuse to return to her husband. Even after some years of marriage men object to young wives paying prolonged visits to their parents without good cause, as we have seen. I have often been amused at the mood of bristling suspicion which comes over a man left a grass-widower for a week or two, though he has probably consented to his wife's going on a visit and may
[837] have other wives at home. It must be admitted, however, that wives run off with other men often enough after such visits to give grounds for the taunt of innate frivolity and fickleness that men throw up against the whole of the opposite sex. A woman in her father's house assumes, for the time being, the social personality of a daughter; and it is as if she is prone, then, to doff her wifehood and with it her sense of duty to her husband. Tallensi say that, if a man falls out with his father-in-law, his wife will take her husband's part when she is with him, but will side with her father at her parental home. Only after several years of marriage, with children pledging her to marital fidelity and an established relationship binding her to her husband, is she most likely to

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

PLATE 6

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a. Kinship *versus* affinal relationships: sons-in-law, sitting in the customary posture of respect, on the right, come to offer condolences to their father-in-law's family and lineage on the occasion of a death

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b. A husband goes to inform his parents-in-law of the birth of his wife's first child. He carries a hen as a gift and a thick stick of Shea wood on which four notches have been cut, which shows that the baby is a girl

[Facing p. 113]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

765 a man dies leaving young wives without infants his funeral ceremonies
581 are hurried on. Tallensi do not believe that young widows without
834 infants will remain chaste for long out of a sense of duty or for fear of mystical penalties. A man's widow, in short, remains his wife, sexually bound to him, as long as his social personality continues to be recognized. Death alone does not expunge a man's social personality. The management of his property, his social roles, and all his rights and responsibilities, continue to be exercised by proxy in his name after his death until his
[768] funeral ceremonies are finished; for it is by these ritual acts that his social personality is expunged. His property then passes to his heir, his social roles to his successor, and his widow is free to remarry.

The Husband's Relationship with his Affines

593 The sexual bond of husband and wife is also, as we have noticed, the
562 critical element that discriminates a woman's marital relationship with her husband from her filial relationship with her father or with anyone who takes over his social role. As we have mentioned before, the economic duties and rights of a woman in her conjugal family are not very different from those that she exercises in her natal family before marriage or if she comes to live with the latter at any time. Her jural status as a minor under her husband's or father-in-law's authority corresponds to her jural status in her father's family. It is essentially with respect to her reproductive capacity that her role and status as wife and mother are sharply separated from her role and status as daughter and sister.

This will be clearer if we look first at the general rules and conventions of a son-in-law's relations with his father-in-law's family and lineage.

602 The term *deema* (pl. *deenam*), affine, correctly used applies to wife's
562 parent and daughter's husband, and to anyone identified with them in a particular situation. It is the self-reciprocal term of address between these relatives, as well as the term of reference for them. I have heard it used as a special gesture of consideration and courtesy by a man to his brother's wife, but this is not usual. For the relationship between affines, in the Tale sense of this term, is not quite the same as that of a woman with her husband's parents and siblings. A man's affines have no authority over him. The tensions connected with common residence are absent. There are no common economic, jural, or ritual interests between affines.

602 As in all Tale social relations, differences of personality and the flexi-
606 bility of custom result in variations in the actual behaviour of affines to one another that sometimes obscure the real nature of the relationship. I have seen a man chaff his mother-in-law (*deempok*) in a way that would be regarded as excessively familiar by the majority of natives. In a well-established marriage one often finds great friendliness and mutual good-

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

will between parents-in-law and son-in-law. They visit one another regularly, help one another more than the strict letter of custom requires, and are proud of one another. In particular, this positive element in the relationship of affines becomes attached to the brother-in-law (*dakii*); and it is not uncommon for brothers-in-law to be real friends if they live near one another, or belong to allied clans, and if there are no bride-price debts outstanding. In former days a man would protect an affine belonging to another clan from molestation by his own clansmen, in the same way as he protected a kinsman of another clan. I have seen men show deep grief at the death of a parent-in-law or brother-in-law.

On the other hand, the sense of an underlying divergence or even conflict of interests that is so conspicuous in the early stages of a marriage never wholly vanishes. The intercourse of affines always tends to be coloured by the feeling that they might be at strife at any time. This is what makes *deen*, affinity, the arch symbol of all that is most antithetical to *dɔŋam*, consanguinity. A formal distance must be maintained between affines; and the passage of time merely blurs but never obliterates this.

A man must show formal deference to his parents-in-law or their representatives, especially in the early years of marriage, and always in ceremonial situations. When he encounters them, or visits them, he sits down to greet them in the posture of respect—crossed legs (*pɔt nɔba*), bowed and hatless head—adopted before a chief, a high ritual functionary, or an ancestor shrine. He is a 'stranger' in their house and they in his house. He is 'shy' of them, and must be on his best behaviour in their presence. It would be most unmannerly, almost immodest, for father-in-law and son-in-law to eat together. In certain circumstances this attitude is extended to the whole settlement of a father-in-law's clan. For example, one rarely sees a respectable Tongo elder eating bought porridge publicly in the market at Ba'ari or Sii. Partly it is unbecoming for the head of a family, as people might gossip, saying that he had no food at home. But the main reason is that Tongo people marry men and women from Sii and Ba'ari. A Tongo man thinks of these places as the homes of possible or actual affines, and he would feel very ill at ease eating bought porridge publicly in the presence of an affine. When a man's parents-in-law or their representatives come on a visit to his house, he must show them honour (*giem ba*). The officious hospitality showered on a visiting father- or mother-in-law, or anybody representing them, by a son-in-law, and vice versa, makes a totally different impression from the friendly welcome offered to a kinsman from another settlement.

Affines have no axiomatic ties. Their relationship rests on a well-defined jural compact. Their parallel interests in the woman who links them, and in her children, are clearly differentiated. This means that a son-in-law has to make special efforts to keep the goodwill of his

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

602 parents-in-law, particularly in the early years while he is not quite sure
606 of his wife. If his father-in-law sends for him to help with the hoeing, or with house building, or his mother-in-law requests him to help thatch her rooms, he must respond with alacrity and bring as large a party of his clansmen to assist him as he can manage. In this way a man shows honour to, ingratiates himself with (*giem*), his affines; for these services are not enforceable obligations, and usually cease to be asked for after the marriage has become stabilized. They bear no relation to the bride-price, and are lavishly recompensed. A visiting work-party brought by a son-in-law expects generous hospitality, and the father-in-law, if he is a reputable man, would feel that he had lost dignity if he did not feed and entertain the work-party well. But though these services cannot be enforced, no man would risk offending his parents-in-law by refusing them. These material demonstrations of respect, gratitude, and goodwill are essential for the smooth working of a relationship artificially established by a jural compact. Parents-in-law praise and like an obliging son-in-law, even if he has not paid the bride-price, the natives say.

602 This is one side of the affinal relationship. It also has an aspect of
607 friendliness and familiarity, as we have seen, which comes out most conspicuously in a man's relations with his siblings-in-law. A man has a joking relationship with his siblings-in-law similar to that of his wife with his sisters and distant clansmen. It goes so far that a man may sleep with an unmarried sister-in-law (*dakiipɔk*) who is visiting his house, and is therefore in that situation identified with his wife. A man's siblings-in-law belong to the familiar and friendly generation of his wife. They are identified with her. But they also belong to the potentially hostile lineage of her father, whose heir a brother-in-law will one day be. In very many ways a man's siblings-in-law are sympathetically drawn to him; but their rights in relation to his wife may pit them against him. The convention of joking serves to reconcile these two potentially discordant elements of their relationship. But when the marriage has lasted many years, and the possibility of a conflict of rights disappears, the element of friendliness in the relationship can assert itself without prejudice to its jural aspect. Thus, conventional teasing usually drops out of the intercourse of siblings-in-law of long standing.

606 The formal distance between affines is further shown in the duties
764 and obligations to which a man is liable on the death of a son-in-law or
431 parent-in-law. On the death of a parent-in-law a man is obliged to attend the mortuary and funeral ceremonies. He should come escorted by a large party of clansmen and their wives, and the mourning party should wear their finest clothes and be led by drummers and musicians. A son-in-law should provide the gravestone for a parent-in-law. He should distribute money freely to the grave-diggers, to the drummers, singers, and musicians, whose raucous noise stimulates the crowd

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

606 764 431 574

fully repaid in the bestowal of his daughter as a wife. A similar sanction to that mentioned in the case of a son-in-law operates here.

764 If one watches the behaviour of men at the funeral of an affine, one can see that they feel themselves to be under strong constraint. They ●602 and their clansmen accompanying them keep together, and when there are no ceremonies or festivities in progress they stay apart from the rest of the crowd. In former days a mourning party of affines always carried arms, and it is said that fighting sometimes broke out at funerals. When Tallensi comment on the ceremonial obligations of affines, they emphasize the feeling of constraint associated with them. One is impressed by the contrast between this attitude and the attitudes associated with the ceremonial obligations that follow on the death of a clansman or cognatic kinsman. It is as if the native feels his ceremonial obligations to an affine to be forced on him from outside, without his choice, whereas he seems to accept his duties and obligations on the death of a kinsman willingly and from within.

602 431 It is evident that reciprocity between affines is different in character from that which prevails between people who have a bond of common interests, such as members of the same family. There is not the same free give and take. When gifts or services pass between affines, whether they are prescribed or ostensibly spontaneous, there is a deliberate effort to counterbalance them. A sort of book-keeping occurs. This appears most clearly in the jural formalities of marriage, but it comes out quite plainly in the apparently voluntary services and reciprocal hospitality of son-in-law and father-in-law. The side that benefits feels impelled to make an equivalent return in order not to give the other party grounds for a grudge. And people who flout this convention not only upset their good relations with their affines and so provide pretexts for conflict with them, but also incur the censure of public opinion.

606 431 One incident will illustrate this. Banorəg asked his son-in-law, a member of an adjacent clan, to come and help him finish the hoeing of his home farm. The young man brought a couple of his clansmen and they worked with zeal from early morning till sunset. Then they went home, politely refusing Banorəg's invitation to come home with him for the evening meal. Had they come as a formal hoeing party they would have been entitled to a good meal as a reward at the end of the day. But they had come informally, and their own homes were near enough for them to get back in time for the evening meal. They spoke of their day's work for Banorəg as a simple act of courtesy to a father-in-law. As we watched them saunter homewards, Banorəg said to me 'Sons-in-law are shy (*deenam mmar vi*). They can't come home with you (their father-in-law) and eat with your children (as if they were your kin)'. But next day Banorəg sent a large basket of millet flour to his daughter with orders to cook a generous meal for her husband and his friends. He would feel ashamed, he told me, if he did not 'thank' the young men

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

thus; and besides, people would say he was mean. This attitude does not occur with the true reciprocity that prevails in the domestic family or between near kin.

Sex in the Relationship of Affines

While, therefore, the relations of affines assume the existence of a formal distance between them, they are not encumbered by avoidances or other social barriers that make friendliness impossible or ordinary social intercourse a burden. There is amity as well as opposition in their relationship. In one matter only is there a rigorous barrier between affines. In respect to sex and procreation they are strictly separate. The emphasis is on the deed, not the word; there is no prohibition against talking to or in the presence of an affine about sexual matters.

One aspect of this ban on bringing sex into the relationship of affinity is the native attitude about a sexual offence against an affine. For a man to seduce the wife of an affine is almost as heinous a transgression as intercourse with the wife of a man of one's own expanded family, though it is not regarded as incest; and the offence is nearly as bad if the culprit is a close agnate of the woman's husband's affine or the woman the wife of a close agnate of the affine concerned. It is a grave offence, also, if a man or his close agnate abducts the wife of an affine or his close agnate. There are no explicit mystical sanctions against either of these wrongs, but Tallensi describe them as 'a thing of enormous evil (*yelbiog tenta'ar*)' bound to bring ill fortune on the wrongdoer, and in any case involving such serious social consequences that no man in his senses would descend to them. They think of the possible culprit as being the son-in-law, and they say that the father-in-law would take away his daughter and the bride-price be forfeited. Affines are bound to fall out with one another now and then. Usually apologies proffered through an intermediary lead to their making it up again. But in the case of a sexual offence against a father-in-law, it is quite impossible to beg or receive pardon. For it is a sin; it 'pollutes the room (*sayam dug*)' of the injured man.[1]

'Pollution of the room' in this sense is very rare among the Tallensi. But it is not unknown for a man to abduct the wife of the father- or brother-in-law (true or classificatory) of one of his own clansmen. The elders of both the abductor's medial lineage and the wronged husband's medial lineage are then extremely indignant. The latter demand the return of 'their' wife: and in all the cases I have come across the former see to it at once that the woman is sent back to her husband.

[1] Cf. p. 28 above. *Sayam dug* has the double sense of a mystical defilement of the sleeping-room—the inner sanctuary of family and of reproductive life—and of an irreparable infringement of lineage rights. If the offender is a distant clansman of the true son-in-law, a ritual reconciliation between the two lineages might be allowed after the defilement has been ritually removed.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

606 It is base to seduce an affine's wife, or the wife of his near clansman, anywhere, but it is abominable to do it at the injured man's own house. 602 Strictly speaking, 'polluting the room' refers to the seduction of a father-837 in-law's wife, or the wife of his close agnate, at his house or in his settle-577 ment. If a man's father-in-law or one of the latter's close agnates seduces the son-in-law's wife (of another clan than theirs), or the wife of one of his close agnates, it is generally treated as a particularly reprehensible form of adultery. The son-in-law would not, for example, necessarily divorce his wife on that account. A ritual reconciliation will be made and the matter closed. Tallensi say such offences are extremely rare, and I have never heard of a case.

835 The offence borders on a sin if it is committed by a son-in-law or someone genealogically identified with him, on the one hand because of 606 his quasi-filial relationship with his father-in-law through his wife, and 837 on the other because of the sex barrier between affines. The striking 577 thing is that it is a particularly heinous case of 'polluting the room' of a father-in-law for the son-in-law to have sexual relations with his own wife at her father's house. The bond which most closely unites a married couple is the relationship that cuts the woman off most completely from her filial relationship with her paternal family. As we have noted before, if her husband has sexual relations with her in her father's house her status as wife and mother is confounded with her status as sister and daughter; her husband's status as son-in-law is confounded with his status as father and husband in his own family. If the husband did not abrogate his marital rights at his wife's father's house, an insoluble conflict would arise both on the jural level and in their emotional relations. So strict is this taboo that it extends to any man of the son-in-law's lineage, and any daughter of the father-in-law's lineage, more particu-[576] larly within the limits of the medial lineage. A man may not even meet his wife face to face on the path leading from her parental home to his, if she is on her way from her parents' house to her husband's; for this would symbolize a wish to treat her as his wife at her father's house.

783 An accidental breach of this symbolic taboo can be mended, though 834 not without difficulty, by a ritual reconciliation. A breach of the prohibition against sexual relations between husband and wife at the latter's paternal home (and *yir*, home, in this context includes the whole settlement), or the equivalent offence committed by a close agnate of the husband, is irreparable. The marriage must be broken up, and children borne of it may be taken away by the woman's father. If this is not done, disaster would fall on everybody concerned. The bride-price is forfeited by the offending husband.

584 Opportunities and temptations to break these taboos often occur, for 574 instance when a young man takes a party of his clansmen to spend a few 834 days with his father-in-law in order to help him with some work. A man's wife generally accompanies him on such occasions. The visitors

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

596 centripetal pull of the *yir* in the economic sphere that the habit of co-operation and mutual help between the women of the household goes deeper as a rule than their inclination to think of their own *dugɔt* first. Thus there is a great deal of voluntary mutual aid between the women of the household. The things a woman owns she guards jealously; but she will often lend gladly to another woman of the household on the basis of the true reciprocity that prevails in family affairs. A woman who has prepared a new supply of shea butter, for instance, usually gives some to each of the other women of the household, knowing that some day she will receive gifts of a similar kind from them.

596 854 855 It is in the children of a family that the balance between *dug* and *yir* is most precisely embodied. They represent both the differentiation of *dug* from *dug* and the synthesis of all the *dugɔt* in the *yir*, in their most significant aspects. Thus, all the children of a man are formally the children of all his wives, and this might include the children of his brothers too. The women of a family, and especially co-wives, usually help one another a great deal in caring for one another's children. This commences with child-birth. As we have seen, the care of a parturient woman falls largely on her co-wives and other women of the same family. A new-born child is not given the breast at once by its mother but by another nursing mother; and a nursing co-wife would be the first person to be called upon. Later, the infant will often be left in the care of a co-wife for an hour or two or a whole day at a time if its mother has to be away from home. If a woman dies leaving young children, they are reared by her co-wives as a rule. When a girl becomes pregnant for the [792] first time, it is one of her mother's co-wives who has the honour and duty of ceremonially girding her with the matron's perineal band. Co-wives often take pride in and show great devotion to one another's children. This is especially true of a senior wife past the age of child-bearing. Such a woman, identifying herself closely with the husband and being herself no longer engrossed in her own young children, mothers the children of her younger co-wives with zealous devotion.

593 736 And yet, as the natives constantly repeat, the relation of mother and child is unique. Its mother's co-wife can never be the same to the child as its own mother. A woman cannot have the same feelings towards her co-wife's child as towards her own child. The lot of an orphan, Tallensi say, even in a household full of women, is always a hard one. An orphan never receives the devoted attention and the selfless love which can be given only by its own mother. It has to depend upon the mercy and the sense of duty of women who are its mothers only in name.

●602 736 This is the reason why small children left orphans are sometimes sent to live with their maternal grandmothers until they are big enough to fend for themselves. Some months after his mother's death I met Gundaat, a pathetic little chap of about 9. Talking about various things, we got on to the subject of mothers. Gundaat told me, in a tone of

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

resignation that was touching in the circumstances, that he missed his mother dreadfully. When she was alive, he explained, he never went to bed hungry. She always had something for him to eat even in the leanest times. But nowadays he often slept hungry; for his other 'mothers' had their own children to think of; in times of scarcity they would put aside extra food for their own children but not for him. At best he might get the scraps.

The genealogical and social differentiation of a woman and her children from every other woman and her children of the same domestic family is the kernel of the notion of uterine (*soog*) descent. The cultural definition of this notion gets its psychological content, its meaning for the individual, from the relations of mother and child and co-wife to co-wife.

To every woman, therefore, her own children are the most complete incarnation of her own social self, of her autonomy and status in the family, and of the differentiation of her *dug* from those of her co-wives. That is what the concept *soog* means for a mother in relation to her children. Emotionally wrapped up in them as she is, she becomes almost anarchical in her concern for their welfare. There are women who resent it strongly if a co-wife scolds one of their children; and it is quite common for a woman to get into a fury if her child is struck by a co-wife's child, let alone by a co-wife herself. Many quarrels between co-wives begin in this way. That is why children are taught to keep out of their mothers' co-wives' rooms as much as possible and to behave carefully if they go into them.

The ever-present tension between co-wives, reduced to a minimum at most times, occasionally bursts out acutely. This is liable to happen if a child gets ill of a malady that defies all attempts to cure it, the more so if it is an unusual sickness of sudden onset. The distracted mother is likely then to turn on a co-wife (another wife of her husband, or a wife of one of his brothers) whose own children are well and happy and therefore the bitterest reminder of her evil fortune. Being co-wives the women are sure to have had differences and even quarrels in the past. So now the sick child's mother accuses her co-wife of being a witch (*zɔi*) and of having caused the illness of the child. Infrequent as accusations of witchcraft were in former days and are now, Tallensi say that most of them were made by women against a co-wife owing to the illness or death of a child. This is the more significant in view of the association between witchcraft and uterine descent. An accusation of witchcraft brands a woman and her children equally, but it does not impugn the male line or, consequently, the *yir*.

When hostility between co-wives reaches this pitch it cannot but result in a serious disturbance of the unity and cohesion of the family. Formerly, as we have learnt, the accused woman might have been compelled to undergo the arrow ordeal, or would herself, backed by her

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

one's parents and play a part in one's upbringing can, and in certain circumstances must, stand to one in the relation of proxy parents. The rule applies most directly to the men and women of the same domestic unit who are identified with one's parents by generation and by social role—to one's father's brothers (*sunɔɔp*), including his full and half-brothers and first cousins on his father's side, who are his prospective successors; and to one's mother's co-wives (*nentaas*). If these men and women all belong to the same household they are directly concerned with the production of food, the provision of shelter, and the satisfaction of the other wants of the unit upon which the physical welfare and growth of a child depends. If the men belong to relatively autonomous economic units but to the same domestic unit, they will nevertheless have a common interest in the family patrimony, to the inheritance of which they all have rights, and a common ritual dependence on the immediate ancestors of the nuclear lineage. The women will sometimes help in caring for one another's children; the men will sometimes help one another in farming and always act as a unit in ritual and jural matters under the authority of the most senior of them. And the ritual care of a child is of as much importance as its physical care. A child will not thrive (*maan*) if it is not under the spiritual wing of its patrilineal ancestors, as we have learnt.

Outside the domestic unit the terms *ba* (father) and *ma* (mother) and the distinctive modes of behaviour correlated with them, are not extended beyond the expanded family (i.e. the family cluster built up on the inner lineage) in normal circumstances. The only exception is in the case of a uterine kinsman or kinswoman of a parent, who is identified with the foundress of the uterine line and is therefore described as a 'father' or 'mother' irrespective of genealogical distance.[1]

Within the clan or maximal lineage it is a cardinal rule that generation differences are not recognized beyond the limits of the inner lineage. 'Begetting does not cross the (inner) lineage—*dɔyam pu yakɔt dug la*' is the Tale maxim. This is correlated with the structural relations of the inner lineage to lineage segments of higher order. The inner lineage is likely to be the widest segment with a common interest in patrimonial land. In relation to the clan or the maximal lineage it is usually the smallest recognized corporate segment, whose members are significant for the clan only as members of the segment. As will be remembered, it is also the unit within which sexual relations with a co-member's wife are definitely sinful. In short, the inner lineage (and the family cluster which is its residential and familial correlate) marks the limit beyond which a person takes part in corporate activities not in his own right and in his personal capacity but as a member of the

[1] Kinship terms without inverted commas stand for the primary meaning of the terms, e.g. (natural) father; those between inverted commas stand for the extended or derived meaning of the term, e.g. (classificatory) 'father'.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

segment. Clansmen beyond these limits are no longer concerned with the rearing of a child. They are not directly involved in either the economic or the educational or the ritual responsibility for its passage through life. Hence they all fall into the broad category of clan kin (*yidɛm*) or clan brethren (*mabiis*) irrespective of age or generation, though individuals among them might be addressed by specific kinship terms, in certain situations, as an honorific gesture. Tallensi feel that a mother's brother (*ahɔb*) is a nearer kinsman than a contemporary of one's father of another inner lineage of the same clan; and while it is not uncommon for an orphan to go and live with his *ahɔb*, it is very rare for an orphan to join the household of a clansman of a different inner lineage.

Tale jural and ritual institutions show, and intelligent informants perceive quite clearly, that the emotional elements in the relationship of parent and child are distinct from the jural and moral elements. There are both pragmatic and ritual sanctions for the latter but not for the former. Indeed the emotional elements sometimes serve as a sanction or as a rationalization of conduct in the relations of parents and children. With natural parents the emotional elements and the jural and moral elements of the relationship are completely interfused. With proxy parents the former yield precedence to the latter, and it is often easier to study the jural and moral elements of the relationship with proxy parents than with own parents. The widest range within which the relationship of successive generations is recognized is principally distinguished by ritual and ceremonial customs. We thus get a series beginning with people who will describe each other, if questioned, as 'my own father (mother) (*m-mɛŋ ba* (*ma*))' and 'my own child (*m-mɛŋ bii*)', or by some equivalent phrase; stretching to those who refer to each other as *ba-pit* or *ma-pit*, younger father or mother (or if it is a father's older brother or mother's older co-wife, *ba-bier* and *ma-bier*), and *bier*[1] *bii*—child of older sibling of the same sex (or *pit bii*—child of younger sibling of the same sex); and ending with people who say of their classificatory parent or child 'I only call him father (mother, child) (*mbuon u la mba* (*ma, bii*))'. There is always a physical difference of generation between own parents and children, generally such a difference between close proxy parents and their siblings' or co-wives' children, but quite often little or no difference of age between classificatory parent and child at the limit of the range. It is quite a common thing to meet

[1] *Bier* is the common term for senior by age or generation; but it is a curious point that the usage quoted above is not exclusive. Tallensi also describe a father's older brother as *ba-kpeem* (elder father), and a mother's older co-wife as *ma-kpeem*. But this form is more commonly used to refer to a grandparent. The context makes it clear whether the reference is to a proxy parent or a grandparent. The use of *kpeem* instead of *bier* may be a borrowing from the Gonja and Namnam, whose dialects are closer to Mole than to Dagbane and who have the dialect variants *kɛma* and *yɛbaga* for senior and junior.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

children of about the same age playing together who are classificatory parent and child. A 9- or 10-year-old will explain that he calls his companion 'father' or 'child' because 'my father begot (*dɔŋa*)—or was begotten by—his father and calls him child—or father', using the concept *dɔŋ* in its generalized sense of a recognized relationship of belonging to successive generations.

The decisive tests are in terms of the jural and ritual relations in which kinship comes into action, and not in terms of a count of generations. Thus paternal authority is an aspect of the organization of productive co-operation in the household; it accompanies defined property rights, and entails jural responsibilities in matters like marriages and deaths as well as ritual duties to the ancestors. These are the things that make up a father's social role. Postponing further consideration of this for the present, we may note that, broadly speaking, three zones can be discerned within the limits of the inner lineage. First, that of Ego's natural parents, who exercise the full social roles of parents; second, that of Ego's proxy parents, seldom more distantly related to the natural father than agnatic second cousins (and their wives), and distinguished by the fact that they share and may take over the social roles of the natural parents; and third, that of Ego's classificatory parents, who are most unlikely (for no rigid line of demarcation can be laid down) to take on the true parents' social roles. The authority and responsibility of a classificatory father is of a general nature, and a man is subject to it only in virtue of his lineage membership.

As we shall find later, these principles hold not only for the classificatory extension of parent–child relationships but also for siblings and matrilateral kin. The regulating mechanism is the lineage structure.

We are defining the gradations that can be observed in the tone and emphasis of the parent–child relationship in the broadest terms. We are speaking of norms; and as we have previously remarked, the norms do not always emerge as simply as this in the actual relations of parents and children. They are subject to the distorting influence of many social and personal factors in this as in other departments of Tale life. Da'amo'o, who ran away from home as a boy when his mother died, must have had very little love for his old father, who was, by all accounts, a hard, arrogant, and demanding martinet. Baŋ, on the other hand, who lost his own father in early childhood and grew up under the care of a distant lineage-brother of his father, Tendaan Gieŋ, whom his widowed mother married, was deeply attached to the latter.

As in most primitive societies, there are always a number of people whom a Taləŋ, child or adult, will refer to as his 'father' or 'mother', or 'child', at any given time. But, as has already been suggested, a natural parent or own child is clearly distinguished from others to whom one stands in the same social relationship. It is enough to visit a large domestic family for half an hour, at a time when the whole

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

family is at home, to see this, especially where young children are concerned. With adults the discrimination is not so obvious in the ordinary daily routine as with children. I have seen a babe of six months left in the care of its mother's co-wife, whimper and strain eagerly towards its mother when it saw her arrive at the homestead with a load of firewood in the company of two other women of the household. An older child will run to its own mother for protection, if it is frightened, clutching her knees and thrusting its face between her thighs. A small boy of 3 to 6 years of age will try to follow his own father about wherever he can; and a little girl of this age hangs around her own mother, as she gets on with the household tasks, in a way that would be impossible with her mother's co-wife. On the other side, one can easily notice the difference between the sympathy and often grief of a woman over the illness or death of a co-wife's child and the utter prostration into which a mother falls if such a misfortune strikes her own child. Similarly, a man shows deep concern over the sickness or death of his brother's child. He will abandon a visit he has planned to a relative, give up work for the day, shelve any plans he may have made; for next to a death, nothing is so upsetting to a Tale household as the illness of a child. But this is as nothing compared with his grief over the death, or his distress at the illness of his own child.

This affective discrimination of own parents and own children is the psychological counterpart of the differentiation of descent lines within the lineage and of segments within the family. Sentiment and structural relationships go hand in hand and the ritual superstructure of Tale society mirrors both. This consistency of the total scheme of social relationships means that we can make inferences about aspects of the relationship between parents and children that are not expressed in their ordinary intercourse, from ritual ideas and practices and from the changing pattern of co-operation and association between them. The fact that a man can only sacrifice directly to the spirits of his own parents and to antecedent ancestors through his own parents, and not to or through the spirits of proxy parents, is as important a factor in the unique bond of parent and child as the fact that a child is usually brought up by his own parents.

Structural arrangements and ritual ideas show that, in spite of the precise discrimination of own parents and own children, proxy and classificatory parents do have a parental role even during the lifetime of own parents. They take pride in these children, and speak of them as 'my children'. Everyone who is 'father' or 'mother' to a person must be treated with the respect due to a parent and has some degree of authority over him or her. I recall one day seeing Sinkawol, a young man of about 25, instructing Kyekambe, a lively boy of about 12, in a task connected with house-building. They both belonged to the inner lineage of which Nyaanzum of Kpata'ar was the head. This lineage

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

presents a remarkable jumble of ages and generations owing to the longevity and protracted fertility of its founder, Kuŋkɔŋki. Because a period of about fifty years elapsed between the birth of Kuŋkɔŋki's first son and the birth of his youngest son, the latter's children are 'fathers' to his older brothers' children, some of whom are three or four times their age. That is how Sinkawol came to be the classificatory 'son' of Kyekambɛ. Now and then Sinkawol had to speak sharply to his pupil. I asked if he would hit the boy if he did not obey his instructions. 'Oh no', replied Sinkawol gravely, 'I cannot strike him. He begot me. He is my father. If he were my brother or my son I wouldn't hesitate to clout him.' Kyekambɛ could not exercise authority over Sinkawol owing to his social immaturity and inexperience. But he would take precedence of Sinkawol in matters of inheritance, and when he grew up would be entitled to precede Sinkawol in rights of succession to ritual office, if he wished to.

Proxy and classificatory parents also feel a responsibility for the welfare of their 'brothers' ' children. Thus if two brothers have separate households, they are not obliged to assist each other with food in times of shortage; and pride restrains a man from asking for help from a brother who is economically independent of him. I have seen men grow wan with hunger, through living for days on end on nothing but wild herbs; but they would never ask for assistance from their better-off brothers. It is up to the latter to offer a gift of grain voluntarily. And when such a gift is given (it is usually only 3 or 4 lb. of grain, enough for a couple of meals) it is offered as a gift for the children and their mothers. The giver will send a calabashful of grain to his brother's wife, with a message that it is for the children. As the natives always say, 'Your brother's children are your children. You cannot see them growing thin with hunger and let them starve.' A woman, too, will sometimes give food to the children of a co-wife of the same joint family, if the two women get on well together.

A proxy parent's authority over his or her classificatory children during their own parent's life cannot be exactly defined. It depends on the situation in which authority is exercised, on the personalities and economic relationships of the people concerned, and especially on the genealogical closeness of own parent and proxy parent. Ɔmara and Saandi are agnatic first cousins (brothers, in native terms) occupying adjoining semi-detached homesteads. They do not farm together. Saandi has no direct responsibility for feeding Ɔmara's children or for educating them. He is, however, directly interested in their welfare and upbringing. For as the head of the nuclear lineage, he must be consulted, and will have an influential, though not the decisive voice in all matters of a jural or ritual kind affecting Ɔmara's children—such matters, for instance, as the marriage of a son or daughter, or the rites of placing a child under the ritual guardianship of an ancestor. If he

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

593 sees any of Ɔmara's children misbehaving he can stop them and punish them if necessary. But ordinarily, though he can scold Ɔmara's children, ●602 he would cause grave offence to Ɔmara if he were to strike them. When, to quote a case that occurred in a similar structural setting, Pumaan's son threw a stone at Zaŋ's (Pumaan's younger brother's) wife, Zaŋ shouted anathemas at the boy and complained to the neighbours but dared not whip him; that was Pumaan's prerogative. For Zaŋ and Pumaan have separate households and are both sticklers for their rights. By contrast, Bɔyazie, who lives and farms with his older brother and gets on extremely well with him, can command obedience from and can discipline the latter's children by corporal punishment if need be. But even in such a case a man might hesitate to strike his brother's children if he and his brother were not on terms of the greatest mutual trust. If Saandi asks his brother's son to do an errand or a job for him the boy will usually obey, but he cannot be compelled to do so, as he can by his own father. Co-wives, as we know, are particularly cautious in dealing with one another's children.

593 There is, however, at any given time, only one man who has full paternal authority over a person, child or adult. In the first instance it is the man who begot him or her; and if this man dies, it is the man who takes on his social role, that is his distinctive rights and duties, by inheritance. The critical rights and duties are those connected with the land and other patrimonial property which the child's father owned or was heir to, and those connected with the cult of the child's father's father. In practice this means the head of the household to which the child belongs, who is also the person who sacrifices to the child's grandfather's spirit; and this limits the range to the child's father's brothers by the same father.

429 During a child's minority a father's agnatic cousin (brother in native 428 terms) may act *in loco parentis* if the father's nearer male agnates are lacking; but it is a position of trusteeship rather than of full paternal 602 authority. The son will set up an independent household as soon as he is able to farm for himself. He will then take possession of any land which his father acquired by his own efforts and will become the effective owner of, for example, bride-price cattle obtained for his own sister, though he cannot dispose of them without the formal consent of the head of the nuclear lineage. In relation to an adult, a father's cousin (or remoter classificatory 'brother' of the same inner lineage) retains only the ritual and jural attributes of a father; and this chiefly in virtue of being head of the inner or nuclear lineage to which the person belongs. Important as these attributes are, they represent a less direct and personal authority than that of one's own or one's proxy father.

603 We shall see later that the relations between grandchildren (*yaaŋ*, pl. *yaas*) and grandparents (*yaab-doog* or *ba-kpeem*, masc. *yaab-pɔk* or

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

considering this situation more closely as it will give us a further insight into the working of the classificatory principle.

The simplest and clearest index to it is in certain observances at the funeral of any man of one's father's generation. A man whose 'father' is alive may not perform the principal rites such as the killing of the goat or sheep from which the loin-cover for the corpse will be cut, or the rites of 'entering the *zɔŋ*'; and he may not eat the ceremonial food associated with or consumed in these rites. To infringe these taboos is not only an insult to one's 'father' but a sin, since it is equivalent to wishing him dead. There are men whose proxy or classificatory fathers are alive who know more about ritual matters than their seniors. I have seen such men stand by and direct others in the performance of funeral rites which they themselves are forbidden to carry out. I have seen them raging with exasperation at the incompetence of the old men or women who were carrying out the rites; but they would have been shocked at the suggestion that it would save temper and trouble if they performed the rites themselves.

Again, the application of the notion varies relatively to the dimensions of the lineage involved in a particular situation and the whole constellation of classificatory kinship recognized within it. At one extreme stand matters that concern only the members of the nuclear lineage. That would be the case, for example, if the nuclear lineage assembled to make a sacrifice to its immediate founding ancestor. Thus, to take a lineage we have met in an earlier chapter, if Katiŋoo biis meet to sacrifice to Katiŋoo, only his grandsons and great-grandsons are concerned (see genealogy on p. 68). In such a situation the two patri-segments of Katiŋoo biis (Duun biis and Baa biis) are each formally recognized as a separate unit and the sacrificial meat is divided equally between them. If Ɔmara were dead, the share due to his patri-segment would fall to his sons; and they would, in this context, say that they have no father. They are, in fact, through the eldest son, taking the place of their father in intra-lineage relations; their status is no longer submerged in that of their father. They are thinking in terms of the contraposition of the two component patri-segments of the lineage. Within the limits of the nuclear lineage, the term 'father' (*ba*) means own father and a man whose own father is dead has no father. He speaks of his proxy-fathers (father's brothers and cousins) as his *ba-pirib*, junior fathers, or *ba-biernam*, senior fathers.

The higher the segmentary order of the lineage involved, the wider is the application of this notion. If the situation involves the inner lineage, then the nuclear lineage emerges as the smallest corporate unit recognized. This happens in sacrifices to the founding ancestor of the inner lineage or in certain funeral customs where food contributions are made by the head of the nuclear lineage on behalf of the whole unit. In this case a man whose own father is dead but whose father's brother

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

or father's father's brother's son is still alive would not claim to be fatherless. For, in matters where the nuclear lineage acts as a unit in relation to other like units, he has no independent status. The unit is under the authority of a 'father' and a 'son's' status is submerged in the 'father's'. Similarly, if the lineage involved is a medial lineage, the smallest sub-segments recognized will be its component inner lineages. Then a man will only claim to be fatherless if he has no 'father' alive within the inner lineage to which he belongs. Beyond this range—for example where the unit of corporate action is a maximal lineage in which the smallest sub-segments recognized are the medial lineages—the question usually does not arise. At this range generation differences no longer count.

This is a schematic formulation, for there is always a margin of flexibility depending both on the internal structure of the unit concerned and on such adventitious factors as the personal relations of the men who are involved and the character of the situation. Continuity of person-to-person relationships in the routine affairs of the lineage and family help to keep appropriate kinship distances alive. A describes B as his 'father' because he knows that his natural father C during his lifetime always spoke of B as his 'brother'. But human memory is fallible, and in doubtful cases Tallensi take the line of greatest personal advantage consonant with existing structural arrangements.

We shall understand it better if we consider a few examples of how the notion of being fatherless influences behaviour in practice. At Soog one of the component maximal lineages of the clan comprises two major segments which function as medial lineages in corporate affairs. Each of these segments is represented by its head at ceremonies at the External *Bɔŋar* of Soog. When Sɛbɔg, the head of one of these segments, died, the most senior remaining member of the unit was his 18-year-old son, Bɔŋabil, who therefore succeeded to the headship of the segment. Shortly after Sɛbɔg's death an important sacrifice was performed at the External *Bɔŋar*. The beer used for the preliminary libations was being shared among the elders and a calabashful was passed to Bɔŋabil. The youth shook his head in refusal. 'No, drink,' said one of the elders, 'it is a taboo. You are an elder now, not a child.' Up till then Bɔŋabil had been prohibited from drinking this beer, as no one who has a father alive may drink of it.

Another incident on this same occasion was equally revealing. Certain of the fowls slaughtered in sacrifices to an External *Bɔŋar* are known as 'tabooed fowls (*nɔkiha*)'. They may not be touched, let alone eaten, by anyone who has a father alive. A man inadvertently handed one of these birds to Diŋkaha's son. Noticing this, Diŋkaha burst into a tirade against the man. 'Do you wish to cause my death or my son's death?' he cried.

In both these instances to be fatherless meant to have no natural

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

trite, especially after one has heard it fifty times. But it is charged with deep emotion for the native to whom it stands for all the tribulations and anxieties connected with the whole task of bringing up a child. 593

Men say that these tribulations begin with the act of sex itself. Desired though it is for the pleasure it gives, sexual intercourse is debilitating. Ejaculation (*duun duurəm*, a term primarily used for micturition) is a giving up of something vital that is a source of strength and youth. That is why young, unmarried men are so much more vigorous than married men. 831

Then there is the strain under which a man lives during his wife's pregnancy, particularly if it is a first pregnancy. Pregnancy, the creation of life, must not be brought into contact with death. Hence he, as the father of his wife's coming child, must not take direct part in mortuary or funeral rites. If he is one of the bereaved, the rites he is compelled to undergo are modified so as to eliminate contact with the corpse or objects symbolizing it. No particular evil is thought to follow on a breach of this taboo, which can, in fact, be magically purged if circumstances compel a man to it. But no man would be so callous as to flout the taboo deliberately. 843

Again, a man must not cut a new bush farm while his wife is pregnant, lest she miscarry. Both are critical events, affectively as well as socially, involving economic readjustments and the assumption of new responsibilities. Preparing a new bush farm absorbs you completely; it is, the natives say, 'a commotion of the heart (*suhkpelog*)'. But when your wife is pregnant you 'take heed only of her pregnancy (*i woŋa u puur la*)'. You cannot give attention, at the same time, to a new and vital economic enterprise like cutting a new bush farm. Apart from a wife's pregnancy only two other critical happenings are so obsessing as to be considered mystically incompatible with making a new bush farm—building a new house, a momentous undertaking, both materially and ritually, which marks an important change in a man's social personality; and taking a new wife, which also involves or portends big readjustments in one's social relations. It is significant that a man who is cutting a new bush farm or building a new house keeps away from funerals outside his own inner lineage since they are both emotionally disturbing and a distraction. All these critical events demand watchfulness and solicitude, for unknown dangers of both a physical and a mystical kind threaten their outcome. A man has to go about consulting diviners. He offers special sacrifices to his ancestors and puts the matter in their particular care.

Another sign of the concern that tempers a man's joy at his wife's pregnancy is the caution he must use in the chase. He must not kill certain mystically dangerous animals, else his wife may miscarry or bear a deformed child.

A man's close relatives are also concerned when his wife is pregnant, especially if it is a first pregnancy. His mother and the older women of 602 843

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

602 843 the family keep an eye on the girl lest she overstrain herself or break one of the dietary taboos. If his father is alive it is he who visits diviners and appeals to the ancestors.

The woman's paternal family, too, are concerned, especially in a first pregnancy. When they have been informed of it, her father appeals to his ancestors to bless her in her coming ordeal, and her mother and sisters bring her gifts of firewood, as her time approaches. It is also her mother's duty, round about the fourth or fifth month, to send one of [292] her co-wives to 'gird the girl with a perineal band (*suol u voog*)', the garb of a matron; for until she has a child a woman wears no genital covering.

The prohibition against giving or accepting bride-price during a woman's pregnancy expresses this general solicitude too. Bride-price transactions involve tension and possible conflict between her father's people and her husband's; and this is not only distressing to her but dangerous to the unborn child. If, for instance, her father, defying convention and the ancestor spirits, as some men are heartless enough to do, takes her from her husband because the bride-price is not paid, the child's legitimate paternity may be prejudiced, as we have noted before, and its health suffer, or the woman herself have a difficult labour.

843 844 846 The solicitude for a woman with child reaches its peak at her confinement and during the subsequent three or four weeks, until she has regained her strength and resumes her normal activities. Many men have described to me their feelings in the hour of a wife's labour. 'You sit listening to her cries and groans of agony. You can't sleep. Your heart is clenched with fear and pity. You do not know how it will end. Do not women die in childbirth or become ill? Do not children die or get injured at birth?' A man's relief and happiness when his wife has passed safely (*salɔg*) through her confinement is written plainly in his voice and gait. Zaŋ, one of the most morose men I have known, was all smiles and affability on the morning after his wife's confinement. [777] When friends and neighbours congratulate a man on his good luck (*zusɔŋ*, lit. good head) it is as much on account of his wife's safety as on the child's arrival.

846 During the days of seclusion—three for a boy and four for a girl—and for the next week or so, it is the husband's duty to provide sustaining food and appetizing condiments for his wife. He will go out to fetch large logs for the fire that must be kept going day and night in the woman's room while she and the babe are still weak and liable to catch cold. Every morning he will go out or send someone to collect the leaves and herbs to infuse in the hot water with which mother and child are bathed. And if necessary he will himself carry water from the water-hole or do other services for her comfort that men usually consider to be beneath their dignity.

846 602 A confinement also involves extra labour and the dislocation of routine for the womenfolk of the husband's family. The care of the woman and

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

the child falls largely on the other women of the household, though the wives of neighbours belonging to the same expanded family, if they are near, might give some help too.[1] The younger women fetch water and cook for her. One of the experienced old women, her mother-in-law or the wife of a neighbour, usually of one of her husband's fellow members of the same inner lineage, supervises and sees to such matters as the bathing of mother and child and the ritual emergence from seclusion of the mother. When she is getting about again, her mother-in-law or senior co-wives must keep a watch over her to see that she does not over-exert herself or go any distance unaccompanied. For as we have mentioned earlier, a woman after childbirth is nervous and may be driven mad by evil trees and stones if she is alone far from home.

These are some of the things a man thinks of when he says that begetting or bearing a child is hard; but they are only the beginning of a father's tribulations. Talking with men immediately after the birth of a child to them, one feels a secret anxiety behind their obvious joy. Many children die in infancy,[2] the Tallensi say, and how can a man know if this particular child will survive? During the first few months of life a child is extremely vulnerable, both physically and mystically. Medicine to keep out evil trees and stones is carefully daubed over the gateway and over every orifice in the homestead wall, and in a circle round the spot where the child lies. *Nɔya teem* ('mouth medicine'), to protect it against malicious praise is given to it. Lucky omens, whether of a conventional or an unconventional kind, are noted. Then, some days after its birth, the child's father or the head of the joint family visits a diviner to find out which of the lineage ancestors is taking it as a spiritual ward (*sɛŋɔraan*) to guard its life (*gur u yɔvɔr*) and watch over its growth. Only after two to six months from the day of its birth is the child at length allowed out of doors; and then it must be ritually carried out, for the first time, by a clanswoman (*pɔŋayabəlɔg*) of the father's clan (i.e. by a 'female father', *bapɔk*, of the child) chosen by divination, so that the ancestors may bless this important step in its development. And this is not the end of the story, for a father's responsibilities for his children never come to an end, as we shall see presently.

[1] Among the Tallensi, as among many patrilineal peoples, the parturient woman's sisters do not assist at the birth of the child. For, as the natives say, it is not their child. The responsibility of assisting at the birth falls on the wives of the lineage to which the child belongs—women who will later be recognized as its proxy and classificatory mothers. It is one of these women, too, who suckles the child for the first two or three days until the mother's milk begins to flow properly. A parturient woman's mother and sisters bring her gifts of foodstuffs and firewood; and her father also sends her a gift of foodstuffs, guinea-fowls, salt, and other condiments, according to his means. They have nothing to do with the care of mother and child during and after the confinement.

[2] Infant mortality is high—probably about 150–200 per 1,000. Cf. my paper 'A Note on Fertility among the Tallensi of the Gold Coast', *Sociological Review*, vol. xxxv, nos. 3 and 4, 1943.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

593 866 *doo*, the room specially set aside for the boys of the homestead to sleep in. Tale ideas of propriety come into this. If a woman has children over the age of about 3 sleeping with her and her husband wants to come to her, he will order the children to go and sleep in another room. Older children are said to know that they must leave the room for the night when their father comes to their mother. Tallensi are horrified at the [864] suggestion that children who 'have sense' might witness sexual relations between their parents.

868 866 ●602 As we have mentioned, a boy of about 12 is generally able to help his mother with the cultivation of her ground-nut plot, the produce of which is entirely at her own disposal. He often has a small ground-nut plot of his own and the produce of it belongs to him. He may, for instance, sell his ground-nuts for a few pence in order to buy himself a loin-cloth. Or he may prefer to keep them; and then he will store them in one of his mother's store-pots. He may have a hen of his own, too, as we have observed, and its eggs, or any chickens he succeeds in breeding from them, belong to him. Now it is very unusual for a boy to be given this first start in animal husbandry by his father. For he already has a share in his father's property. He will contribute to its acquisition by his labour, and he will one day, as the natives always emphasize, inherit it. A boy gets his first hen from his mother or from one of his matrilateral kinsmen, most commonly his maternal grandfather (*yaab*) or uncle (*ahɔb*), but sometimes his father's *ahɔb* or some other kinsman of that class. This is a quasi-paternal gesture on the part of the maternal uncle knitting his ties with his sister's son more closely. Many a Talən can point with pride to a cow which he bought with the proceeds of selling goats and sheep of his own breeding, the first of which was bought with the money he had saved from selling chickens bred from [782] the hen his uncle gave him. And when the cow gets old he is obliged to take it to his mother's brother to be sacrificed to the latter's lineage *bɔyar* as a thank-offering.

866 593 The significant point, here, is that a boy begins to act and feel as a social personality in his own right in economic terms and in opposition to his patrilineal line. His self-differentiation is a function of his matrilateral kinship, correlated with the antithesis between the *dug* and the *yir* in the structure of the joint family. Their childhood attempts at animal husbandry may be the first stage in the economic differentiation of sons of the same man by different mothers; and it is this that leads, at a later stage of the lineage cycle, to their separation. When that time comes it is a common thing for a man to 'beg' (*soh*) land, to build on and farm, from his maternal uncle. The gift of a hen is repeated at a higher economic level in a form appropriate to the nephew's wants and maturity.[1]

The economic self-differentiation of a son is both a sign of his psycho-

[1] Cf. below, Ch. XI.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

of distribution employed in the division of sacrificial meat, as they have seen it among adults, with hardly an error. By the age of 8 or 9, boys are sufficiently familiar with the lineage organization to have grasped this pattern.

The division of sacrificial and ceremonial food expresses precisely the genealogical structure of the lineage concerned. The first division is into equal shares for each of the major segments of the lineage; then a further division takes place on the same lines within each segment; and so on down to the smallest segments. Thus one can see the children of an expanded family of two homesteads divide a mouse first into halves, one for children of one homestead, the other half for the children of the other homestead, and then each group apportioning their share equally amongst the children of different mothers in the same joint family.

As these rules show, the configuration of social relations characteristic of brothers is generalized throughout the social structure, not, of course, in all its intimate nuances and particularities but in its structurally relevant norms. Where two persons or corporate groups are defined by descent as 'siblings' or 'brother-groups' they act towards each other as brothers would in a comparable situation. This, as we have previously found, is a fundamental principle of lineage organization and action.

The equality *inter se* of siblings, except for sex and age differences, postulates equality of rights in relation to their 'fathers' and to one another. The fiction by which the token rights of a woman and her children in her father's house are upheld—the theory that but for the accident of birth she might have been a son vested with a son's rights—is evidence of this. These rights become significant when a young man enters into the full productive activities of the household and when a girl gets married. It is in virtue of the labour he contributes to maintain the household, and in virtue of the bride-price she brings in, that youth and girl claim these rights. Thus these rights exist, by definition, only within the lineage framework, in relation to the corporate unity of the lineage. They are epitomized in the rule that brothers are equally entitled to inherit patrimonial property, especially land.

We have previously seen, however, that the entry of a youth into full economic responsibility coincides with the increasing progress of his self-differentiation as a social personality in his own right. There is no inconsistency in this. The unity and cohesion of family and lineage depend upon a balance of rights and duties among all the individuals involved. And the recognition of their rights and duties presupposes their self-differentiation as individuals, partly in terms of their respective maternal origins, but equally in terms of their developing social maturity and productive capacity.

The climax of this process comes with marriage, or more accurately with the establishment of a family on becoming a parent. This brings the

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

593 682 784 generations ago the ancestor of this segment of Sagbarug yidɛm slew the ancestor of a segment of Kuruug, hence the two units may not sacrifice together. To do so would be to court the wrath of their collective ancestors.

593 578 ●602 Our analysis shows that what makes a rupture of the ties of brotherhood, at any level of lineage organization, so grave a matter, is the fact that it involves a rupture of the common filial relationship of the parties to a parent or ancestor. For it is from this relationship that the persons or units concerned derive their status of brotherhood relatively to one another.

593 602 In the preceding discussion we have spoken of brothers or siblings sometimes in the primary sense of these terms, sometimes in the classificatory sense. That is exactly how the natives use the kinship terms for siblings; and the speech context by itself does not always indicate the exact genealogical degree of the relationship between the speaker and the person referred to. Like the terms used for parents and children, these kinship terms only have a strict connotation, implying specific sentiments, rights, and duties within the standard classificatory range. Within the inner lineage, or at the utmost, in lineages of narrow span, the medial lineage, a person described by the speaker as his sister (*tau*) or older brother (*bier*) or younger brother (*pit*) can be shown by genealogical reckoning to be of his or her generation by birth, even if he or she belongs to a totally different age stratum. Thus Badiwona, aged 6, describes Tiezien, aged about 70, as his older brother because they have a common patrilineal grandfather; and Zoobon-Tɔŋ-Tɔbɔg's children call their contemporaries, Kurug's children, brothers and sisters because they have a common patrilineal great-great-grandfather and belong to the same inner lineage. The pattern of conduct and sentiment we have been describing holds within this range, with the qualification that the solidarity of siblings tends to be shallower and their equality of less personal consequence the more distant their genealogical connexion within the inner lineage. But so close-knit is the inner lineage as a corporate unit in relation to wider corporate groupings that these differences of degree very often vanish altogether, except for the difference between *soog* and *sunzɔ* siblings.

593 602 613 As usual, it depends on the situation and on the kind of interests involved. The situation steers conduct and sentiment; it is an infallible guide to the connotation of the kinship terms used in it. To take a few examples: A man may be nearly starving; he will be much more likely to receive a gift of grain from one of his matrilateral kinsmen than from a distant *sunzɔ* brother of the same inner lineage. Similarly, if a man is hard pressed in his farming programme, he will ask a uterine kinsman or an affinal kinsman to assist him and not a *sunzɔ* brother of the same inner lineage. These are personal problems and they are dealt with by invoking cognatic kinship ties. But in ritual and jural affairs it is the

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

other way round. These involve not individual economic or social interests but the common interests of the lineage. If a man has to answer a charge of having abducted another man's wife, or meet a demand for the payment of bride-price or the surrender of the custody of a child, his 'brothers' and 'fathers' of the same inner lineage will rally round him unanimously. For marriage affairs (*pɔŋadir yɛla*) involve the common interests of the whole lineage. The observer cannot deduce from the opinions or actions of any member of the inner lineage, in such a situation, whether he is the full (*soog*) brother or the paternal (*sunzɔ*) brother, or a more distant classificatory brother or father of the main actor.

The differences of degree in the solidarity of siblings is most apparent in residential, economic, and domestic arrangements. So if one asks a man whom he lives with and he replies 'I share a homestead with my older brother (*man ni m-bier la kab kpeerɔme*'—lit. 'I and my older brother enter together'), one can be certain that the older brother referred to is not more distantly related to him than a father's half-brother's son. But the term *bier* has a different connotation in marriage affairs. For instance, Yin's son's father-in-law came one day to see Yin about the payment of his daughter's bride-price. There was a long and at moments acrimonious argument, with the intermediary (*pɔŋasama*) acting as conciliator. At length Yin said: 'I agree to your terms; but of course I must first consult my older brothers (*biernam*).' Everybody understood that what Yin meant was that he should first have to obtain the formal consent of the elders of his inner lineage.

As we have learnt before, generation differences are not reckoned beyond the limits of the inner or at most medial lineage. Beyond this range, therefore, all clanswomen are called sisters (*tap*) and all clansmen who are one's contemporaries or one's own siblings' contemporaries are described as siblings. In relation to them the pattern of sentiment and conduct that holds between true siblings only comes into action *vis-à-vis* non-clansmen, and then in a very attenuated form. It is a question chiefly of united action and mutual loyalty in the service of the corporate interests of the maximal lineage or clan. So any man will come to the assistance of a clansman in an argument or fight with a man of another clan, irrespective of the rights or wrongs of the case. This is vividly seen in hunting or fishing battues. It is a very common thing for two or three men to lay claim to having killed an animal, especially if no arrow is found embedded in the animal's flesh. Then the clansmen of the claimants rally round them and their dispute turns into a violent altercation between two or three solid phalanxes of hunters. As we have previously narrated,[1] a famous war of the old days began in this way. Similarly, market brawls occasionally arise from a man's clansmen coming to his support in an argument. The commonest

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. xiii.

3 Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

cause of such brawls is women. A man sees a man of another clan talking to the wife of a member of his inner or medial lineage—or even to the wife of a distant clansman of his. He suspects the couple of plotting the woman's abduction and accuses them of this. In a few minutes clansmen of the two disputants who happen to be near come to their support; and so a brawl may ensue.

But where the ideal of the equality and solidarity of siblings is most apparent in social relations outside the inner lineage, is in the institutionalized co-operation of lineages and lineage segments. It is most conspicuous in important ceremonial and ritual matters such as funerals or changes in the custody of lineage shrines. But it emerges also in jural affairs such as marriage transactions and reconciliation ceremonies. The maxim 'Brothers look after one's affairs (*Sunzɔp mmaan yɛla*)' sums this up for the native. Thus, as we have described in our previous book,[1] at funeral ceremonies all the *sunzɔ* lineages of the group celebrating the funeral are bound to be present, and it is the representatives of these lineages that supervise and mostly take the lead in the various rites. When Kpe'emi died, the messengers bearing the sad tidings did not go straight home to his father. They went first to an elder of a different section (*yizug*) of the clan; he took them to the head of a segment of Kpe'emi's section different from that to which Kpe'emi belonged; and this man took them to the head of Kpe'emi's segment, who conducted them to Kpe'emi's father. Thus the blow was softened by the presence, the condolences, and the immediate ritual action of *sunzɔp* of different degrees. Similarly, if a man seduces a clansman's wife, he appeals not to his own immediate lineage head but to the head of an inner or medial lineage closely related to his to intercede on his behalf. The reciprocal of these and similar acts of assistance given to *sunzɔp* is the strictly defined rights of *sunzɔp* lineages to certain shares of sacrificial or ceremonial meat, beer, flour, and so forth. But the Tallensi do not regard these rights as rewards for 'looking after' the affairs of a *sunzɔ*. The rights and the duties coexist as equally essential features of the relationship of 'brother' lineages.

As these examples show, there are, in fact, no person-to-person social relations between individuals who are only clan-siblings of the same quality as sibling relations in the narrow sense. Their solidarity is a consequence of the general solidarity of the clan in situations affecting the common interest. Thus clan-brothers have no property relations *qua* clansmen. But the chief distinction between clan and inner lineage siblings lies in the sphere of sex. As we are aware, sexual relations with clan sisters outside the medial lineage are not regarded as disgraceful, and to have sexual relations with a distant clansman's wife is considered to be adultery, not incest. Tallensi, thinking of these matters in their inveterate socio-spatial terminology, say that clan siblings are 'too far'

[1] *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 215 ff.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

In ritual activities the social equivalence of siblings is constantly apparent, and in its most flexible form. For example, in almost every one of the elaborate series of rites that make up funeral ceremonies certain duties fall on particular kin of the dead person. A typical instance is the cooking of 'sisters-in-law porridge (*pɔyakiis sayabo*)', one of the inaugural rites of every funeral. Two 'wives' and a 'daughter' of the clan together cook porridge in a prescribed ritual fashion. Usually the rite is performed by daughters and wives of the inner lineage that is celebrating the funeral, but any daughter of the clan and any wife of the clan can serve. The rite ends with a 'sister's son (*ahɔŋ*)' pretending to whip the women who cook the porridge with a twig. As there is not always a true sister's son present, a member of the clan has to act instead. There is never any difficulty in finding somebody who is qualified to do so. By going back far enough almost anybody can trace a matrilateral link with his own clan and can therefore act as a 'sister's son' for the purpose of the rite. Thus at Sayawuob's mother's funeral Latarɔg acted as 'sister's son'. His father's mother's mother had been a daughter of the clan section to which Sayawuob belongs and that made him a classificatory 'sister's son' for purposes of this rite. A double identification lies behind such assimilations of remote to near kin. There is the lateral identification of any daughter of the clan with any other daughter of the clan, living or dead; and there is the vertical identification of a person with any of his ancestors in certain situations.

A somewhat different illustration is the following. We have seen, in our earlier book,[1] how the genealogical equality ('but for the accident of birth') of women members of the lineage and clan with their brothers is recognized both in secular and in ritual custom. Among all the daughters of a lineage—from the minimal to the maximal span, as it emerges in a particular context—the oldest of them, the *pɔyayabolɔgkpeŋ*, has special prestige. She stands for the genealogical equality of women and men in the lineage. She has a kind of honorary equality with the male head of the lineage. She has no authority in lineage affairs; but if she happens to be present when they are being discussed she may speak her mind freely and will be listened to with respect. In the case of the senior daughter of a medial or lesser lineage, she has the right to be informed in advance of every important ceremonial event in the lineage. If she attends, she is entitled to a special portion of the sacrificial meat usually allocated to the daughters—the backbone, upper ribs, and intestines. But there is a curious custom which shows her symbolic equivalence with her brother, the lineage head, best. She may never sleep under the same roof with him, even if he is her own full brother. If she did, one of them would die. There is a feeling that in the eyes of the ancestors the oldest male and oldest woman of a lineage are so nearly equivalent that the latter could easily replace the

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 52 and ch. ix.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

428 593

the calabashes. The old woman's close sisters have first pick of the calabashes and the remainder are divided among her daughters and daughters-in-law.

Outside the inner lineage, as has been previously indicated, succession goes by age seniority. Succession to the custody of a maximal lineage *boyar* or to a politico-ritual office such as a chiefship or tendaanaship follows this rule. This, as we can now see, is in conformity with the principle that members of the same maximal lineage or clan who are not of the same inner lineage are titular 'brothers'.

593 602

It is in the usages of extended kinship, however, that the social equivalence of siblings is most apparent. We have already dealt at length with the extensions of parental roles within the lineage and it is necessary only to observe that they are based on the principle of the social equivalence of brothers. We shall find, in the next chapter, that it is an equally important factor in the web of matrilateral and sororal kinship ties, outside the agnatic lineage.[1] We shall see that, as in the ramification of lineage structure, so in extra-clan kinship bonds the tie of siblingship is the principal mechanism of their wide-spreading reticulation.

[1] This is Radcliffe-Brown's theory of the chief mechanism responsible for classificatory kinship in primitive societies. Tale material amply supports him. See Radcliffe-Brown, 'Social Organisation of Australian Tribes', previously cited, and his articles on 'The Mother's Brother in South Africa', *South African Journal of Science*, xxi, 1924, and on 'The Study of Kinship Systems', *J.R.A.I.*, lxxi, 1941.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

CHAPTER XI

THE WEB OF EXTRA-CLAN KINSHIP

Some General Points Restated

WE propose now to bring together and amplify a number of lines of argument that have been introduced in previous chapters concerning the place of matrilateral and sororal kinship ties in Tale social structure.

According to our argument in Chapter II, there is a distinction of primary significance between agnatic bonds and those kinship relations that unite members of different maximal lineages and clans. The former constitute the foundation of corporate social units; they cannot be understood except within the framework of such units. The latter are personal, linking individual to individual or an individual to a corporate unit with which his or her agnates have not necessarily any genealogical relationships. Thus they do not form the basis of corporate associations. They may and often do, in fact, entail loyalties that run counter to those evoked by membership of the agnatic lineage. They imply different kinds of interests from those that unite members of a lineage. They are, as we have previously learnt, widely diffused, both for the individual and for the members of a particular lineage; and they are, in theory, without limit, both in respect of geographical range and of generation distance. In practice only a limited number and a limited range of a person's matrilateral and sororal kin ever become socially relevant for him. Geographical proximity, genealogical proximity, and the nature of the situations in which extra-clan kin normally play a part determine this.

We can describe these kinship ties as matrilateral and sororal ties because the crucial link in the genealogical chain is always a woman, whom Ego calls either his mother or his sister or father's sister, using these terms sometimes in the primary sense, sometimes in a derived, classificatory sense. Tallensi, speaking of this subject, have a saying: 'It is women who cause kinship to spread widely (*Bumpɔɣas nkye ka dɔɣam ɛɣ yalɔŋa*)'.

There are two types of extra-clan kinship ties, as we know from previous chapters. There are the ties of uterine kinship (*soog*) which we have described in Chapter II. These are symmetrical relationships derived from the genealogical and social equivalence of sisters. Uterine kinship unites individuals on a basis of equality, as if they were siblings. Their friendship, mutual affection, and mutual interests are modelled on the relations of uterine sisters. There is no compulsion about these ties; they are not visualized in terms of binding rights and duties, but as being at bottom voluntary.

The characteristic example of the other type of extra-clan kinship ties

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

602

is the relationship of mother's brother (*ohəb*) and sister's son (*ahəŋ*). In a broad sense it is true to say that all matrilateral-sororal kinship ties except those of *saarət* have the same form as the relations of mother's brother and sister's son. This is a reciprocal relationship of the same class as that of parent and child. Thus Tallensi always say of any sororal kinsman 'I (or we) begot him (*man* [or *tam*] *dɔɣuwa*)', and of any matrilateral kinsman 'he (or they) begot me (*u* (*ba*) *dɔɣəma*)'. This phraseology is reminiscent of the way in which the relationship of successive generations within the agnatic lineage is defined. It points to an aspect of the mother's brother–sister's son relationship which is absent in that of *saarət* linked through their mothers only. A mother's brother, being a man, has jural and ritual rights, duties, and powers in virtue of his membership of his patrilineal lineage, and they condition his social relations with all his kinsmen. Moreover, they are not extinguished by his death. They pass to his heirs and descendants as part of the network of rights and duties embodied in the structure of the lineage. A man's relationship to his sister's son, as we shall see presently, necessarily has a jural and ritual coefficient. It is not a voluntary relationship and it is necessarily extended to include, in different degrees, the whole of the mother's brother's inner lineage. Being thus tied to the lineage structure it is perpetuated in accordance with the lineage principle.

The statement that extra-clan kinship ties are relationships between individuals, or between individuals and corporate groups, has therefore to be qualified in one particular. As the preceding paragraph implies, and as evidence cited in our earlier book shows,[1] lineages can be related as 'mother's brother' to 'sister's son'. We have seen that this is the relationship assumed to exist between accessory and authentic lineages in some clans, and between some linked lineages of different clans.[1] But conceptually in all cases, and, no doubt, historically in some, these linkages between corporate units go back to a mother's brother–sister's son bond between individuals, perpetuated in accordance with the lineage principle.

This description represents native thought and behaviour more accurately than generalizations about the classificatory extensions of the primary relationship. The chief criterion by which a native identifies his mother's brother or a lineage standing in the relationship of a 'mother's brother' to his lineage is that 'he sacrifices on my behalf (*ɔn nkaabət tirəma*)' or 'they sacrifice on our behalf (*bam nkaabət tiit tam*)'. This implies a specific ritual duty and privilege vested in a particular person or lineage, not a vague general relationship with a certain class of relatives.

We shall find that the structure of all extra-clan kinship relationships of the form we are discussing is the product of three factors: the principle of the social equivalence of siblings; the principle of generation

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. iv.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

602 differences; the principle of lineage continuity. It is because all three principles enter into it that the relationship of mother's brother and sister's son has a jural and ritual coefficient.

Kinship Terms

601 Before we go any farther it will be convenient to list all the kinship terms used in this context by the Tallensi (see diagram, p. 285). As
602 usual, they are primarily terms of reference, rarely used as terms of address between direct relatives of the particular classes. A man never addresses his own mother's brother as *ahəb*, but always by his name, and vice versa. These terms are used as terms of address only in speaking to distant relatives of that class who are not personally well known to the speaker and therefore have to be addressed somewhat formally, or as a special gesture of courtesy. Thus Kpanaraana, during a case at the chief's court, said to the girl whose marriage was in dispute: 'My grandmother (*m-ma-kpeema*), tell us your story.' This was a gesture of courtesy because the girl was a clanswoman of his paternal grandmother. Similarly Ga'ab always addressed my clerk Naaho, who was probably his junior by twenty-five years, as *n-ahəba*, because his mother was a clanswoman of Naaho, and his relationship with the latter was purely formal.

A person describes his or her mother's brother as his or her *ahəb* (pl. *ahəbnam*), and is described as *ahəŋ* (pl. *ahəs*) irrespective of sex. There is, significantly, no term for mother's brother's wife. She may be described as 'the wife of my *ahəb* (*n-ahəb pɔŋa*)', and be addressed by her clan name; or she may be described metaphorically, and addressed respectfully, as 'mother (*ma*)'. Similarly, there is no term for the spouse of an *ahəŋ*. I have heard men speak of a sister's son's wife as *ahəŋ*—by identifying her with her husband—and as *deema* (in-law), or *bii* (child)—by the speaker identifying himself with his sister. By a similar identification a man may address his sister's son's wife as *ma* (mother), just as if he were her husband's father, or he may use her clan name. Corresponding usages apply in speaking of and addressing a sister's daughter's husband.

A mother's father is referred to as 'grandfather' (*yaab* or *ba-kpeem*) and a mother's mother as 'grandmother' (*ma-kpeem*). The reciprocal term is *yaaŋ*, grandchild of either sex. But grandparents and grandchildren address each other by name.

The mother's brother's children are described and referred to as 'mother's brother's children (*ahəb biis*)' or as 'siblings of the same (or opposite) sex (*bier, pit, tau*)'. But, as we shall observe presently, there are many significant situations in which a mother's brother's son is identified with his father and called *ahəb*. Mother's brother's child and father's sister's child address each other by name. They describe one

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

another's spouses as siblings-in-law (*dakii*) and address them by name, or by the kinship term if they wish to be specially courteous. But as Tallensi often point out, all such terms transferred by metaphor from the lineage context to a matrilateral context are used in a figurative sense. 'It is a figure of speech only (*la a nuoni maa*—lit. it is only of the mouth)', they say.

The father's sister, it should be added, is described as *ba-pɔk* (pl.

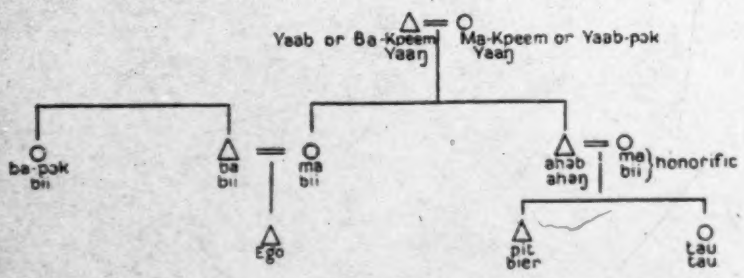

FIG. 6. Kinship terms used by Ego (top) and their reciprocals (bottom).

ba-pɔknam) (female father)—an apt description of her social position in relation to Ego—and is addressed by her name. Another term of reference for the father's sister is *pugərəba*.[1] It is not commonly used for the father's own sister, however, but for a classificatory father's sister or father's father's sister. The father's sister's husband is referred to descriptively or metaphorically as *ba* (father) and is addressed by his name, or as 'father', as a mark of special courtesy. A woman refers to her brother's children as her 'children (*biis*)', identifying herself, as this suggests, in sentiment and behaviour with their father. She and their spouses call one another *deema* (in-law). She may use this term in addressing them and they in speaking to her, if they are not well acquainted; or the father's sister may address her brother's son's wife by her clan name or as 'mother', as if she were the girl's parent-in-law; and she will usually address a brother's daughter's husband by his name.

An incidental point of interest emerges from a consideration of the kinship terminology used in this context. It appears, and observation shows this to be a fact, that the spouses of matrilateral and sororal kin do not come into the picture directly. A man is only interested in his mother's brother's wife, for instance, in so far as her welfare and behaviour affect his mother's brother's and his children's welfare. He has no direct social relationship with her.

The classificatory extensions of these terms will be considered later.

[1] This is the Mampele variant of *ba-pɔk*, commonly used instead of the latter term among the Mamprusi. Etymologically *ba-pɔk* is 'father-female' and *pugərəba* is probably compounded of 'woman (*puŋ*)' and 'father (*ba*)'.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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The Socio-spatial Aspect of Extra-clan Kinship

602 From the point of view of the total social structure the most important function of extra-clan kinship is to make a number of breaches for the individual in the rigid genealogical boundary of the maximal lineage and clan. It creates bonds of amity and loyalty for him with members of other clans, irrespective of the corporate, political relations that may prevail between his clan and those other clans. The individual is not confined within the boundaries of his clan for social purposes. He has not only channels of communication with other clans, but sources of material aid and moral support outside his own clan. In the past this was of great practical importance. As we saw in the case of uterine kin, it meant that people could move about the country with some security, in spite of the absence of centralized government and in spite of the tendency for each local clan to be politically self-contained and on terms of latent hostility with other geographically near clans. Under the safe-conduct of a mother's brother or sister's son or other relative of these classes a Tongo Namoo, for instance, could go among the Hill Talis. He could rely on receiving hospitality from his Talis kinsfolk and on assistance from them in carrying through the business that took him amongst his clan's potential enemies.

In theory, it will be remembered, kinship ties are never extinguished. This has a bearing on our present topic. If the extra-clan kinship ties of any native are investigated one finds that they spread, like the spokes of a wheel, to most of the clans in the neighbourhood of his own clan. Naabdiya of Tong-Seug, for example, had his mother's brother at Wakii, his father's mother's brother at Ba'ari, more distant matrilateral kinsmen at Kpata'ar, Gorogo, and Yinduuri, and uterine kin in the Sie district (see map on p. 282). He had his own sister's sons at Wakii and father's sister's children in the Sie district. Every native has such a constellation of cognatic kin among neighbouring clans. This is one reason, perhaps, why all Tale rules of hospitality can be summed up in the single rule of obligatory hospitality to kinsfolk. Everybody has close cognates in five or six neighbouring settlements, and more distant kin, most perhaps unknown to him, in half a dozen more settlements. As the natives themselves say, if a person knew all his extra-clan kinsfolk, he would find a kinsman in every settlement in Taleland. The trite observation so often made by European travellers in Africa, that natives seem to have 'brothers' in every village, is only too true of the Tallensi.

The consequence is that a continuous and vigorous flow of interpersonal social relations between clans and beneath the surface, as it were, of the constituted lineage structure, goes on all the time. Disputes between members of different clans can be adjusted through the mediation of common kinsmen without setting in motion the organs of cor-

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

porate political life. This is one of the chief functions of the *pɔyasama* (see p. 318) in marriage affairs, for example. However the lineage system separates individuals and corporate groups from one another, or sets them against one another, this underlying network of extra-clan bonds knits them together; and this is a very powerful factor in maintaining the equilibrium of Tale society. In the social structure as a whole it has a complementary function to that of clanship. In the old days it acted as an unseen brake on the tendency of clans to resort to fighting as a means of settling their differences; and if fighting did break out it gave an extra stimulus to any efforts directed towards making peace. For, as likely as not, every man on either side had relatives among the enemy and was swayed by divided loyalties. These bonds probably helped to keep down the number of casualties in inter-clan fighting. For it is a sin to slay a kinsman in war. 'If you saw a kinsman on the other side', said Tiezien, 'you shouted to him to get away lest your arrows hit him by mistake; or else, you yourself moved away to another place.' One could not shoot off one's arrows at random but had to pick out an enemy, making certain that he was not a kinsman.

These extra-clan kinship ties are not indiscriminately distributed. They fall into an order in accordance with the field principle which our investigation of clanship brought to light.[1] That is why they reinforce the forces of social integration in the society at large rather than the forces that encourage clan isolation. Though every member of a clan has his own particular bonds of extra-clan kinship, the tendency is for most members to have extra-clan kinship ties with the same clans. Thus members of one clan tend to have a common field of extra-clan kinship ties; and as the lineage principle encourages the attachment to a whole lineage or clan of sentiments and interests directed towards one of its members, the result is that members of one clan all tend to have personal sentiments of amity and loyalty for the same neighbouring clans. In accordance with the field principle this means that members of any particular clan will have more and closer extra-clan kinship ties with adjacent clans than with more distant clans, and with clans linked to theirs by special ties rather than with clans with which theirs has no political or ritual ties.

This appears quite plainly if a distribution map is made for a sample of the wives of men of a clan, showing the natal clans of these women. Since it is through marriages that extra-clan kinship ties are woven into the lineage fabric, such a map shows the distribution of the most important ties of matrilateral kinship for a particular clan, the ties they have with their mothers' brothers.

We reproduce here a diagram (Fig. 7) constructed for a sample of wives of Tongo men. Similar diagrams for a sample of Kpata'ar wives

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. vi.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

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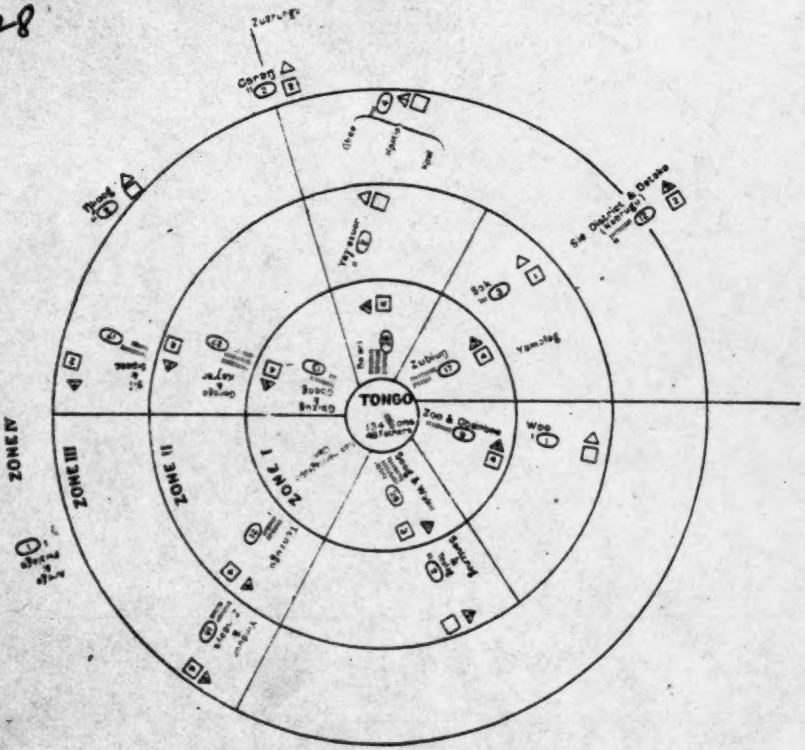


FIG. 7. Distribution of matrilateral kinship ties of Tongo men.

The diagram shows the geographical distribution of wives and mothers of a sample of Tongo men and hence their field of matrilateral kinship.

Wives of men shown thus (26).

Mothers of men shown thus △11.

Mothers of men's fathers shown thus 3.

The diagram divides the socio-spatial field of matrilateral kinship into four zones: Zone I, immediately adjacent clans; Zone II, clans immediately adjacent to clans of Zone I; Zone III, clans beyond Zone II clans; Zone IV, non-Tale clans.

The location of clans or groups of clans on the diagram corresponds to their territorial relations to one another; but the zones are socio-spatial not territorial regions. Most clans of Zone I are within 2 miles of Tongo; most clans in Zone II are between 2 and 5 miles of Tongo; most clans of Zone III between 4 and 7 miles of Tongo. But some clans in Zone III are spatially nearer to Tongo than some clans in Zone II, and vice versa, and one or two non-Tale clans are spatially nearer than some clans in Zone III. Though there is a high positive correlation between social distance and territorial distance, the correspondence is not perfect. The emphasis of the diagram is on the social distance from Tongo of the clans included.

[p. 288]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

and a sample of Sie wives have exactly the same form and show that the same principles operate throughout Taleland.[1]

A sample of 134 men from all four sections of Tongo, who were living at Tongo at the beginning of 1934, was chosen for this test. The distribution according to their natal clans of all their wives—living, dead, or separated—who had borne children to them was marked on a map. The distribution by clan of origin of the mothers of these men was plotted on the same map. As a number of the men were brothers and some were polygynous the total number of mothers recorded is smaller than the number of wives. Lastly, the distribution by clan of origin of these men's fathers' mothers was plotted on the same map; and as their fathers were fewer than they are and some were polygynous, the total number of their paternal grandmothers recorded is less than the number of their mothers and much less than the number of their wives. The diagram therefore shows the socio-geographic distribution of (*a*) these men's fathers' mothers' brothers' (*ba ahəbnam*) clans; (*b*) of their own mothers' brothers' (*ahəbnam*) clans; (*c*) of their children's mothers' brothers clans.

Table showing the Field of Extra-clan Kinship Ties

Total number of men, all sections of Tongo	134
Total number of their wives	205
Total number of their mothers	64
Total number of their father's mothers	46

Zonal Distribution of Kinship Ties

	Incidence		
	Mothers' brothers of		
Zone	*Men's children*	*Men themselves*	*Men's fathers*
Zone I	93	33	21
Zone II	56	12	13
Zone III	47	18	9
Zone IV	9 (56)	1 (19)	3 (12)
	205	64	46

It will be seen that the total field of extra-clan kinship ties for Tongo is directly complementary to the total field of clanship ties, and largely congruent with the field of politico-ritual ties we have previously established for this clan.[2] Within this field there are four zones of density graded in accordance with spatial and social distance from Tongo. Thus

[1] They also operate among the Gərisi, as a sample of marriages collected in one of the sections of Bolaga showed.

[2] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. iv and v.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

602 128

Tongo people, individually, have closer and more numerous kinship ties with the immediately adjacent clans of Zubiuŋ, Ba'ari, Wakii, and Zoo than with clans in the next zone, such as the Tenzugu clans. On the other hand the incidence of such relationships with Yinduuri is markedly greater than with any other clans of Zone III, because Tongo and Yinduuri have a bond of friendship through the chiefship of Sii, as has been explained in our previous book.[1]

602

It will be seen, moreover, that the field of extra-clan kinship is relatively constant for a particular clan through several generations. For its form is approximately the same for children, fathers, and grandfathers. This suggests a regular tendency in the social structure rather than a chance result of the random choices of individuals. As we have previously stated, men seek for wives preferably amongst the nearest eligible women—that is amongst the women of clans that are spatially or socially nearest to their clan. The whole weight of the social structure lies behind this tendency. The restrictions on mobility in the past encouraged it. But the most important factor was, and is, the circular relationship that exists between marriage and extra-clan kinship ties. Marriages create extra-clan kinship ties; social contacts between members of different clans are largely canalized by extra-clan kinship ties; and these ties lead to contacts that in turn bring about new marriages. The modifications that are coming into this sequence nowadays are proof of this argument. The freedom of movement now possible has led to a great expansion of the social space of the younger men. They are beginning to take wives from distant parts, very often outside Taleland, in increasing numbers.

As every Tale clan has a similar field of extra-clan kinship ties, the fields of adjacent clans overlap. The bonds of extra-clan kinship between any two adjacent clans are not only reciprocal but bilateral. Just as many Tongo people, for example, have mothers' brothers at Ba'ari, Zubiuŋ, and Wakii, so many Wakii, Ba'ari, and Zubiuŋ people have mothers' brothers at Tongo. Lɔyani of Zubiuŋ Yakɔra provides a good instance of multiple bilateral ties between men of adjacent clans. His mother was a woman of one segment of Tɔŋ-Puhug; one of his sisters married into another segment of Puhug; one of his daughters married a member of yet a third segment of Puhug. If we multiply such cases by the total population of Taleland we can get some impression of the intricacy of the web of extra-clan kinship ties. I have never yet been in a situation where a group of natives have gathered for some activity, whether secular or ceremonial, in which it was impossible for any person present to establish some genealogical (or, if it came to the worst, affinal) link with the lineage principally concerned. Merely being sisters' sons—actual or classificatory—of the same clan can become an effective bond of amity in certain circumstances. The following is a trivial illustration of this.

[1] *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 89 and 121.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

Early one morning I met Baripeta. His hoe on one shoulder, and a chicken coop suspended from the other, showed that he was bound for his bush farm. But he was not taking the path that led there. I asked him where he was going. 'Oh', he said, 'I am going to congratulate Tinta'alɔm on his succession to their lineage *bɔyar*. He and I are both Yinduuri *ahɔs* and so his good fortune naturally makes me happy.'

The result of this overlapping of the fields of extra-clan kinship of adjacent clans is that these ties are interwoven to form an elaborate mesh, parallel, on the level of individual relationships, to the mesh of clanship on the level of corporate group relationships.[1] Hence the native thinks of his matrilateral kinship bonds as linking him to such-and-such a person of a different clan, who is himself linked similarly to someone in yet another clan, and so on to the limits of his social horizon. Nor are these connexions confined to Taleland. Tallensi often emphasize their cultural and social distinction from Gɔrisi, Builsa, Namnam, and other neighbouring peoples. But they are quite likely to end a discourse on this theme by saying, 'However, our kinsfolk are among them (*ka ti dɔyam le bɛ nɪŋha*)'.

It must be remembered, though, that most of these ties are only potential for a person for most of his life. He does not, as a rule, know of his more remote extra-clan kinsfolk until they become relevant for him on some special ritual occasion. This may happen once or twice in a lifetime. But when the need arises he can always trace them by following out (*tumh*) his kinship ties step by step, as we shall see presently. On account of this, and of the complex interweaving of these kinship ties, it is a common thing for individuals to be connected by more than one route, or to be distant kin without knowing it. Thus when I asked Puɛŋyii why he had formerly attached himself to the Gɔlibdaana, whom he now professed to regard as the arch-enemy, his answer was 'because we are kin (*ti a dɔyam la zugu*)'. He went on to explain that, firstly, the Gɔlibdaana was a distant 'sister's son' of his (Puɛŋyii's) inner lineage, and, secondly, he and the Gɔlibdaana 'both come from Gorogo' on the maternal side. Puɛŋyii's mother's mother and the Gɔlibdaana's mother were both daughters of the same inner lineage of Gorogo. 'If my mother's mother's brother's (*ma ahɔb*) people make a sacrifice to their lineage *bɔyar*, the Gɔlibdaana and I both go to it', he said. This is a simple instance. More complicated multiple relationships are very common, cases in which, as the natives put it, 'they have begotten each other (*ba dɔya taaba*)'. That is to say, two persons may be related in such a way that by one route A calls himself a 'sister's son' of B and by another reckoning the relationship is reversed. The relationship of Puɛŋyii and the Gɔlibdaana can, in fact, be interpreted in this way. Identifying himself with his inner lineage, Puɛŋyii can say, 'I have begotten the Gɔlibdaana'—since the Gɔlibdaana looks upon

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, chs. iv, v, vi.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

Puŋyii's inner lineage as his distant 'mother's brother's lineage'. On the other hand, the Golibdaana can make the same claim in regard to Puŋyii by identifying himself with his 'sister', Puŋyii's mother. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life it is immaterial which relationship is stressed. The blanket concept of kinship (*dɔɣam*) covers all. But in special ritual situations a specific relationship emerges as the decisive one. For example, if the head of Puŋyii's inner lineage were to die, the Golibdaana might, if he were on good terms with the deceased, as a gesture of respect, send a gift of millet flour and a fowl as a contribution to the funeral, on the grounds that he is a 'sister's son' of the lineage.

Many instances could be quoted of people discovering hitherto unknown extra-clan kin by chance, as it is a common occurrence. It was on a chance visit to Tɛnzugu that Kuŋaanba learnt that Nyaaŋzum was the head of his father's mother's brother's inner lineage. Since then Kuŋaanba has become a regular visitor to and a great personal friend of Nyaaŋzum's family. In the same way it happens that people get married and discover later that they are kin. Tallensi say this probably happens very often but seldom becomes known. It is only if the couple lose several children one after another that it comes out. A diviner then reveals it as the cause of their misfortunes. Thus apprised of it, they consult the elders of their lineages and try to 'trace out (*tumh*)' their kinship. Whether they are successful or not—and they usually are—they then perform the rite of splitting kinship (*bɔk dɔɣam*), and this makes it permissible for their marriage to continue. It happened thus with Pukiehɔt, and this was one of the reasons why his in-laws were so angry with him for not paying his wife's bride-price. It was bad enough, they complained, that their daughter's marriage should be a breach of kinship; but, on top of that, here was her husband for ever hedging over the payment of the bride-price.

The natives know very well that they have closer and more numerous matrilateral and sororal kinsfolk among adjacent clans than among more distant clans. We have seen (Ch. II) how they visualize this situation for uterine kin (*saarɔt*). They tend to think of their close matrilateral kin as being spatially near and their more remote extra-clan kin as being far away geographically as well. But they do not, of course, realize that all the extra-clan kinship ties of a lineage or clan, taken together, fall into a regular and definite socio-spatial order. They think of these relationships from the individual angle always. At the same time they are very conscious of the mutual reaction on one another of the clanship and lineage structure and these extra-clan kinship ties. Thus Tongo people say that it is much more satisfactory to have one's mother's brother at Zubiuŋ or Zoo than at Ba'ari or Wakii. The local and political cohesion of Zubiuŋ and Zoo with Tongo make it easier to keep in touch with one's mother's brother, make one readier to accept and be accepted

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

by his clansmen as a classificatory kinsman, and predispose *ahɔb* and *ahɔŋ* to greater mutual confidence, than if one's *ahɔb* belongs to the traditionally hostile Talis. On the other hand, a man whose mother's brother is at Wakii does not wish evil to befall that clan, and he may find himself in an embarrassing position if there is conflict between his own clan and that clan.

Kinship Amity

Outside situations in which specific extra-clan kinship ties correlated to defined modes of conduct emerge, the social relations of kin are governed by a general rule of amity. A kinsman of any degree is a person in whose welfare one is interested and whom one is under a moral obligation to help in difficulties, if possible. A good illustration of this occurred one day when I was on a visit to Kpata'ar. Nyaaŋzum asked, in the customary way, what was the news from Tongo. I ran through the conventional items—the chief, the crops, current gossip, births, marriages, and deaths. When I told him that Gbɛn-Tɔŋ's mother had died he exclaimed, 'Eee! And why haven't I been told? I'll have it out with Gbɛn-Tɔŋ next time I see him. This is his maternal ancestors' home (*u yaab yir nla*). I sacrifice on his behalf so that he may sleep peacefully; and now that he is not sleeping well (i.e. has trouble), if he does not send to tell me, is that as it should be?' Thus also Banɔrɔg complained that he had given away about twenty baskets of grain in a period of one month after his harvest to kinsfolk who had come to 'beg (*soh*)' gifts to tide them over a time of food shortage. But, he concluded, 'you can't refuse a kinsman (*i ku tuo nzayah i dɔyam la*). One day I myself may have to go and ask my kinsmen for some grain.' A kinsman in need of hospitality cannot be refused, though there is no obligation to go out of one's way to persuade him to accept it. In the old days if a person saw anyone wantonly molesting a kinsman of his from another clan, it was his duty to intervene. It is wrong to seek a kinsman's harm and a sin that will bring down the wrath of the ancestors to cause his death. In 1936 the Tɔŋraana and the Gɔlibdaana were compelled to meet in order to try to settle one of the latter's grievances against the former. At the end of the long and fruitless discussion the Tɔŋraaŋa burst out, with scarcely veiled vexation, 'You and I, Gɔlibdaana, are kin. We have begotten each other. Why do you seek my enmity always?'

As we have previously learnt, one of the most important duties of kinship in the old days was to protect a kinsman in one's own clan territory. A typical example is the story of Baŋam-Teroog's journey to Sandema in the Builsa country, some fifty or sixty years ago. Had he gone openly by himself he would certainly have been caught and sold into slavery by the Builsa. He had been commanded by an ancestress, through a diviner, to go to her home in Builsa country and perform the

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

rites of setting up a shrine dedicated to her. For safety's sake all the travelling on such journeys was always done at night. During the day the traveller lay low in a kinsman's house. So Teroog set off one night. He went first to his father's mother's brother's home at Gorogo. Thence he was escorted to his father's mother's mother's natal home at Sii. The Sii people took him to a more remote kinsman at Balung and from there he was conducted, by similar stages, to Sandema. His return journey was made in the same way. The whole trip took nearly a month. The same journey can be done on foot, nowadays, in three or four days each way.

Similarly Zubiuŋ men relate how in the old days their Tongo neighbours, being of a different and unconnected clan,[1] used sometimes to raid their livestock to recover bride-price debts. As the people of Tongo were much more numerous than those of Zubiuŋ resistance was generally impossible. But if a Zubiuŋ man had a close matrilateral or affinal kinsman at Tongo, this afforded him some protection. His kinsman would intercede to get any livestock of his that had been seized restored to him, or, if the debtor were a very close agnate of his, to arrange a settlement between creditor and debtor. Often the head of an intercalary lineage, such as Nəŋsuur yidem,[2] undertook this on behalf of his classificatory mother's brother's lineage.

Nowadays the most important obligations extra-lineage kin have towards one another are in ritual matters, and these are unavoidable obligations. This applies especially to kin of a senior generation in relation to those of a junior generation. A person owes ritual allegiance to his matrilateral ancestors as well as to his paternal ancestors. In fact, in the strictly personal affairs of the individual, his matrilateral ancestors have as decisive a role in his life as his patrilineal ancestors. This accords with the recognition given to maternal origin in the social structure and with the rule that kinship never dies out. Hence there are many occasions in the life of a man when he has to go to his mother's brother or to someone standing in that order of relationship to him to ask him to sacrifice on his behalf. For it must be remembered that the canon of agnatic descent prohibits anyone other than a true patrilineal descendant from sacrificing to an ancestor or ancestress. Thus if a man wants to sacrifice to his mother's spirit guardian he has to go to her natal home and ask her father (or his heir) to perform the sacrifice. Herein lies the force of the statement commonly used to define extra-clan kinship ties, 'I sacrifice on his behalf', or 'he sacrifices on my behalf'. The whole weight of the ancestor cult stands behind these and other ritual obligations of extra-clan kin to one another and no Taləŋ would violate them.

If we add to this the rule that marriage between extra-clan kin of any degree is forbidden, we can see that there is much in common between

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. vi.
[2] Cf. ibid., pp. 59 and 78.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

the basic rules of inter-personal sentiment and conduct for extra-clan kin and for members of one clan or lineage. As in the lineage, so among extra-clan kin, the pattern of sentiment and conduct we have sketched has greater force with close than with distant kin. The differences between kinship within the lineage and kinship outside the lineage lie less in the sphere of individual sentiment and conduct than in the different structural implications of the two kinds of social ties.

The Classificatory Extension of Extra-clan Kinship

At the outset of this chapter we referred to the classificatory extension of extra-clan kinship ties. This requires further elucidation. In the early stages of my field-work this aspect of Tale kinship seemed to me extraordinarily confused. The natives seemed to label any extra-clan kinsman a 'mother's brother (*ahəb*)' or 'sister's child (*ahəŋ*)' quite indiscriminately. The only distinction they appeared to make was in terms of generation differences. A person was apparently labelled a 'sister's son' if he was related to the speaker through any ancestress who was a member of the latter's clan, and he was described as a 'mother's brother' if the woman forming the link was the speaker's mother or ancestress and a member of the other person's clan.

This apparent confusion soon resolves itself into an orderly picture if the three principles in accordance with which kinsfolk are identified with one another are applied. In addition we must take into account the socio-spatial distribution of these kinship ties, and, especially, the time dimension without which no aspect of Tale social structure can be understood. Naturally the natives themselves do not consciously use such general conceptions in sorting out their kinship bonds; to them it is simply a question of spontaneous adjustment within the everlasting stream of social relations.

The most important of these factors is the lineage principle. An indication of this is found in the constant reference made by natives to their mother's brother's lineage (*ahəb yiri*) or maternal grandfather's lineage (*yaab yiri*). If a native is asked about his matrilateral kin the first thing he mentions is his *ahəb yiri*—the clan and perhaps clan segment of his mother's brother. The interpretation given to the concept *yiri* varies according to the situation, and follows the rules that govern its usage within the clan or lineage. For instance, I went to Tenzugu one day accompanied by two Tongo men. When we reached Kpata'ar one of them said 'This is my *ahəb yiri*', and explained that his mother was a Kpata'ar woman (*pɔyayabəlɔg*). A little later he stopped and broke off a couple of heads of ripe millet in a farm through which the path wound. I twitted him with stealing other people's crops. 'No', he replied, 'this is my *ahəb yiri*. This is La'ab's farm and I am an *ahəŋ* of his *dug*. They won't object to my taking a few heads of millet.' Thus

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

at first he was using *ahəb yiri* to refer to the clan and later he used it for the inner lineage of his mother's brother.

In keeping with the principles of lineage structure, a man visualizes his relationship with his mother's patrilineal kin as having three degrees. There is, firstly, his bond with his 'true *ahəb* (*ahəb ni yɛlmɛyər*)'—his mother's full (*soog*) brother, if she has one, or her oldest paternal half (*sunzɔ*) brother. This is the man who will sacrifice on his sister's son's behalf (if *his* father is dead). Apart from this there is no distinction between the 'true *ahəb*' and his brothers of the same nuclear lineage. The next level is that of the mother's brother's *dug*, his inner or at most medial lineage. A sister's son describes this *dug* collectively as his *ahəb yiri*, or, by contraposition with the clan, as his *ahəb dug*. Like any member of this inner lineage he distinguishes between its members in accordance with the rules of classificatory kinship. That is, the men whom his *ahəb* calls 'father' he calls 'grandfather', and he jokes with them; the men and women whom his *ahəb* calls siblings he calls *ahəb* or mother; and he describes those whom his *ahəb* calls his children as brothers and sisters. He may not marry a daughter of this inner lineage, and if he has sexual relations with one it is as disgraceful as if she were his close agnatic sister. He may not court a widow of any man of this inner lineage whom he calls *ahəb*, and if he seduces the wife of such a man it is incest. He may in theory court the widow of a member of this *dug* whom his mother's brother calls 'son' and whom he, therefore, regards as a sort of brother.

Finally, there is the level of his mother's brother's clan beyond the range of his inner lineage. Again the rules of classificatory kinship in the clan context apply. Beyond the range of his mother's brother's inner lineage a man does not distinguish between members of his mother's brother's lineage (his *ahəb yidɛm*) by generation. He can marry a daughter of the clan, or court a widow of any man of the clan, at this range.

Reciprocally, a man calls a child of a daughter of his inner lineage 'an *ahəŋ* of our *dug* (*ti dug ahəŋ*)', and a child of a daughter of a different inner lineage of the clan 'an *ahəŋ* of our lineage (or clan) (*ti yir ahəŋ*)'. There are a number of ritual ceremonies at which all the segments of a clan or maximal lineage must be present. Funerals of politico-ritual functionaries such as tendaanas, and the ceremony by which a man takes over the custody of a lineage *bəyar* shrine, are ceremonies of this kind. *Ahəs* of every branch of the clan usually attend such ceremonies. Then they are divided into two groups: *dugni ahəs*, those who are linked through their mother or an ancestress to the inner lineage responsible for the ceremony; and *yɛŋha ahəs*, outside *ahəs*, whose mothers or ancestresses came from other segments of the clan.

The lineage principle operating in relation to the flux of time introduces a new feature. A man dies and in due course his social roles pass

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

to one of his sons. The son now assumes the duties his father had as a mother's brother. He now sacrifices on behalf of his father's sister's sons and becomes their *ahəb* in function. So a mother's brother's son is, in certain situations, called *ahəb* by identification with his father in accordance with the lineage principle, even while his father is still alive—in anticipation, as it were, of the role he will one day have. On the same principle a sister's son's son may be identified with his father in relation to the latter's mother's brother's sons and lineage. Thus Ɔmara once introduced a young man from Gorogo to me as his *ahəb*. I expressed surprise, as I knew his mother came from Woo. He then explained that the young man was really his father's *ahəb* (*ba ahəb*)—not, of course, his father's true mother's brother, but the grandson and successor of the latter.

Through the operation of the lineage principle such a relationship can, in theory, go on for ever. The mother's brother's role—progressively attenuated, as we shall see presently—passes from one generation of the original mother's brother's agnatic descendants to the next. And this brings out a point of importance. The crucial element in the mother's brother's role is his duty to sacrifice to his ancestors on his sister's son's behalf whenever the latter requests it. By the lineage principle the latter cannot sacrifice to his maternal ancestors directly at their original home. The mother's brother is bound to perform this duty or else suffer the wrath of his ancestors. He can refuse only if his *ahəŋ* has very gravely offended him. Then this duty becomes a right which he uses as a sanction. He receives no recompense for this other than his prescribed share of the animal sacrificed, which must always be provided by the sister's son. The mother's brother's role goes with this right of sacrificing to his lineage ancestors' spirits. Hence, after the death of all of the grandfather's sons—all the true mother's brothers—it is in fact vested in the head of the lineage descended from the grandfather.

Now let us glance for a moment at the other side of the relationship, the sister's son's position. A man has no interest in or bonds with any of his sister's children's agnates except her children. They are not his kin through his sister. In theory he or his son can marry any of his sister's children's female agnates if they are not related to one another by another link. In practice such marriages with a woman member of the sister's husband's inner lineage are not countenanced. One objection is that the girl might be a proxy or classificatory daughter of the sister, which would make the marriage seem incestuous. A stronger objection is that such a marriage would amount to exchanging one woman for another. This the Tallensi disapprove of on the grounds that it must inevitably breed discord between the two lineages concerned. It is incongruous for the same inner lineages to be both sons-in-law and fathers-in-law to one another. You cannot, as the natives put it, both owe bride-price to and claim bride-price from the same man, or owe filial respect to and

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

601 602 be entitled to filial respect from the same person. The objection does not hold outside the range of the sister's husband's inner lineage. An *ahəb* is concerned only with his sister's own children; and *his* agnatic descendants are genealogically related and socially concerned only with *their* descendants—that is to say, with the matri-segment (sprung from the sister of the original *ahəb*) of the lineage sprung from her husband. Such is the history—or, more frequently, the putative history—lying behind the *ahəb–ahəŋ* relationships of lineages of different clans with one another. Every lineage and every segment of a lineage has its *ahəb yiri* in this sense. When the relationship (whether real or putative) is assumed to be remote it may have only a ceremonial function or may serve as an explanation of clanship linkage; when it is not too remote it emerges from time to time in ritual or jural activities. And it follows from the structure of the lineage that the farther back by number of generations the relationship is located, the wider will be the span of the lineages concerned.

There is a further complication. A woman's children have a tie, through her, with her *ahəb yiri*—their mother's mother's brother's lineage (*ma ahəb yiri*). This is a bond of a rather limited and formal significance; nevertheless it is kinship (*dəɣam*); it prohibits marriage between a man and a woman who are directly related by such a route, and it often emerges in ritual relations. Indeed a man and his sister's, or father's sister's, daughter's son may be on terms of friendship and special intimacy, if, as is quite possible, they are clansmen or neighbours. The friendship of Pumaan and Saɣəbazaa, both of Tongo, went back to a relationship of this kind; and Saɣəbazaa, who was in the mother's father's position, spoke of Pumaan as his 'grandson (*yaaŋ*)'. By the lineage principle a relationship of this kind can be sustained for several generations, but it tends to fade out with the passage of the generations. Still more roundabout extra-clan genealogical connexions are recognized in special circumstances, the parties being linked by various combinations of male and female antecedents.

A relationship such as that of Saɣəbazaa and Pumaan is assimilated to the pattern of mother's father–daughter's son relationship. As this shows, there are two categories of extra-clan extended kinship ties. One type is assimilated to the *ahəb–ahəŋ* (mother's brother–sister's child) tie, and the other to the *yaab–yaaŋ* (mother's father–daughter's child) tie. The criterion is simple. If two individuals or lineages are linked through one woman (i.e. at a remove of one generation) only, they are *ahəb* and *ahəŋ* to each other: if the chain of genealogical connexions includes more than one woman (i.e. more than one female generation—a woman and her mother), making it a secondary matrilateral tie, the parties are *yaab* and *yaaŋ* to each other. Thus Ləɣani called himself, in various contexts, an *ahəŋ* of Təŋ-Puhug, because his own mother came from there; an *ahəŋ* of Gorogo because his father's mother came from that place; and

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

also an *ahəŋ* of Sie and of Təŋ Kuorəg because other patrilineal ancestors of his were *ahəs* of those clans. But when he was explaining his various ancestor shrines to me he accounted for his possession of one on the grounds of his being a *yaaŋ* of Sək—his patrilineal great-great-grandfather's mother's mother having been a daughter of Sək; and for another on the ground of his being an Arogo *yaaŋ*, since his mother's mother's mother came from Arogo. The distinction between *ahəŋ* and *yaaŋ* in this sense implies corresponding differences in social relations. It follows, as can easily be seen, from combining the principle of lineage continuity with that of sibling equivalence.

Our analysis shows that the extension and transference of extra-clan kinship ties through the social system is not an indiscriminate lumping together of classes or groups of relatives. It is strictly regulated by the basic principles on which that system is built up. We must not forget, however, that the majority of these derivative social ties are only potential. The more distant or indirect they are the less frequently and the less effectively do they emerge in the form of actual social relations. We shall come back to this presently.

The diagram overleaf summarizes the results of the preceding analysis.

The Nuclear Relationship of Mother's Brother and Sister's Son

All extra-clan kinship ties, except those of uterine kin, are rooted in the relationship of mother's brother and sister's child. We proceed now to study this relationship in greater detail.[1]

Tallensi say that a mother's brother is a 'sort of father (*u ŋman ni i ba*—lit. he is like your father)', and a sister's child is 'like your own child (*u ŋman ni i bii*)'. These expressions conjure up, to the native, a picture of a personal and lifelong mutual interest and attachment similar to that of parent and child. How deeply it goes depends on the character and disposition of the individuals concerned, but it is always there. In part it is no more than a continuation of the interest a woman's close lineage kin have in her children, but it has distinctive features of its own and is counted of more value and importance than a maternal grandparent's interest in a daughter's children.

When a girl becomes pregnant for the first time her husband sends a message to her parents. Later, about the fourth or fifth month of her pregnancy, her mother sends one of her close co-wives to bind the girl with a perineal band (*suol voog*). This is a proud moment for her, as the perineal band shows her to have left maidenhood behind and to have entered the ranks of the matrons (*pɔɣaŋaaŋ*, pl. *pɔɣaŋaas*). Then, before

[1] The starting-point of this analysis is Radcliffe-Brown's theory of the social equivalence of the mother's brother to his sister in relation to her children, first expounded in his article 'The Mother's Brother in South Africa', loc. cit. 'Sister's son' in this chapter stands for 'sister's child of either sex', except when the context shows that a male is meant.

[Text continued on p. 301. ANALYST]

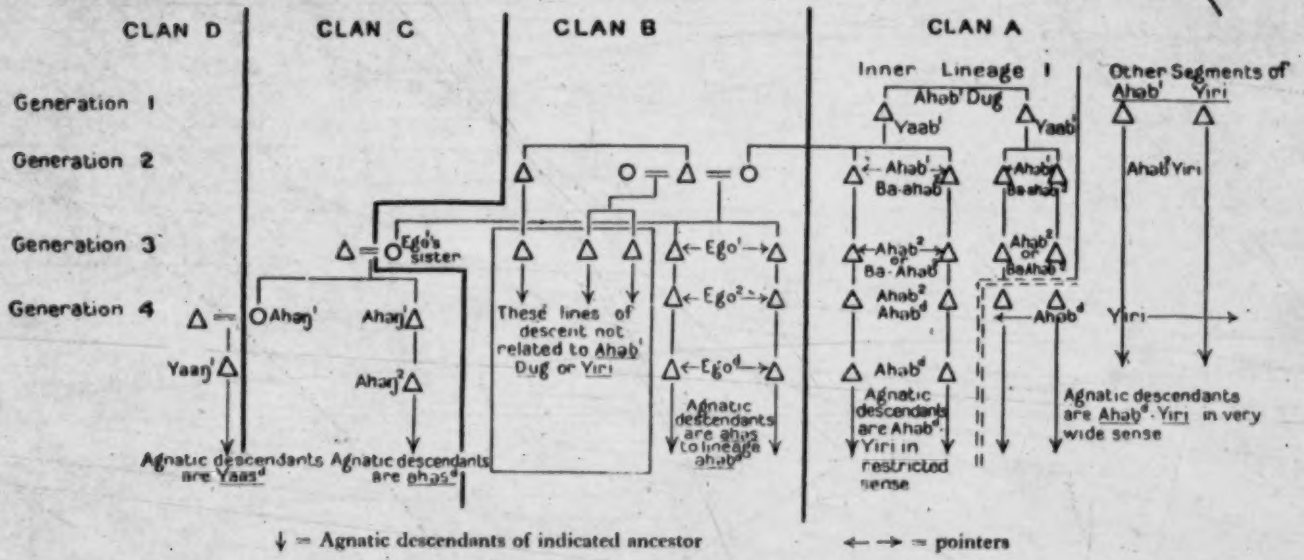


FIG. 8. The extension of *Ahəb–Ahəŋ* relations.

The diagram reads as follows: Ego¹'s true mother's brothers are designated *Ahəb*¹, Ego² calls them *Ahəb*, Ego³ (Ego's son) calls these men *Ba-ahəb*, hence they are also designated *Ba-ahəb*³. Ego⁴ (Ego¹'s agnatic descendant) calls *Ahəb*¹'s agnatic descendants *ahəb*, hence they are designated *Ahəb*⁴. Similarly with all the other relationships placed on the diagram. The index figure or letter shows what the Ego bearing the same index calls that person or group.

3: Fortes E-3 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

his own sons. More surprising, Puvəlimra was admitted to all the esoteric rites of the Earth cult and often represented the tɛndaana in ritual activities. He was permitted to do this because he belonged to a lineage holding a tɛndaana-ship allied to that of Gbizug. Had he been a Namoo, he would have been excluded from all but the domestic religious rites of the tɛndaana.

He was a great favourite, too, with the tɛndaana's children. But one of the sons once made a revealing comment on Puvəlimra's position. He spoke in a slightly patronizing tone, though not offensively so. 'Puvəlimra', he said, 'is our child (*u a ti bii*). We like him to stay with us and we may not deny him anything. But one day he may decide to go home and we can't restrain him; or if he offends us we can tell him to go. He is not our person (as a member of the lineage is). However much the tɛndaana may like him he cannot inherit our ancestor shrines or our farms or our homestead. It is because he gets on so well with the tɛndaana that he stays.'

This comment is typical of conventional opinion on the position of an *ahəŋ* in the family of his *ahəb*. Puvəlimra himself, Gikoo-Duun, and Bayana, three young men who either lived or had lived with their mothers' brothers, defined their position in exactly the same terms. It would be an offence against the ancestors to deny an *ahəŋ* a home, but he has none of the fundamental rights of a son; his position depends on the personal attachment to him, and concern for him, of his mother's brother. An *ahəŋ* in Puvəlimra's position, it is sometimes suggested, is apt to be more compliant than a son, so as to ingratiate himself with his *ahəb*. He cannot make demands as of right, as a son may do. Said Gikoo-Duun: 'I was a small boy when I went to live with my *ahəb-soog* at Saamər (in Mampurugu). Later I went out on my own to build my homestead and farm for myself near him. It was not because of a quarrel. But my mother's brother will not take care of (i.e. take responsibility for) my affairs (*u ku maal ŋ-yɛla*). He will not marry a wife for me. If he does give me one cow to help pay my wife's bride-price and we should some day quarrel, he will say I must pay it back. He is not of my people. My people are here at Zubiuŋ. Even though I am far away, they (the Zubiuŋ people) will look after my affairs. If I were to die to-day they would make my funeral and inherit my things. Do you not see that I come here (to Zubiuŋ) regularly to sacrifice to my ancestors?'

As we know, one of the major jural responsibilities of a father for his son is in marriage affairs. Hence the fact that a sister's son has no claim, as of right, on his mother's brother's assistance in this important matter is a good test of their jural relations. Puvəlimra's marriage created the first rift between him and his mother's brother. The marriage was beset with difficulties. The girl's father feared that he would never get the bride-price as Puvəlimra's proxy father was a blind old man who lived

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

on the charity of his kinsmen and friends. The Gbizug Tendaana refused to promise anything in advance. When at length Puvəlimra succeeded in persuading his prospective father-in-law to give him the girl, all the formalities were carried out by his paternal relatives at Kpatia. Then came the question of bride-price. The demand was made to the head of Puvəlimra's inner lineage at Kpatia, who transmitted it to Puvəlimra himself, since his 'father' was obviously unable to meet it. It was then that the Gbizug Tendaana made Puvəlimra a present of a bull, without, however, assuming any responsibility for handing it over to Puvəlimra's father-in-law. The situation was saved for the time being; but that dry season Puvəlimra went, for the first time in his life, to seek work abroad, hoping thus to earn enough to buy another bull to give to his in-laws.

Sometimes, however, a mother's brother accepts responsibility for the bride-price of the wife of his sister's son who has grown up as his foster-son. A curious situation arises then. For this amounts to adopting the *ahəŋ* into the inner lineage of the *ahəb*. It is as if his mother's bride-price is paid back to his paternal lineage so that he becomes a son of his mother's brother's lineage—much like an illegitimate son. And this is symbolically shown by his children being entrusted to the care of spirit guardians from among his mother's brother's ancestors instead of his paternal ancestors. Though he does not acquire rights of inheritance in his adoptive lineage, the *ahəŋ* settles permanently in the clan settlement of his *ahəb*. He retains only ritual ties with his paternal clan. This is one of the ways in which accessory lineages are founded in clans to which they are related as *ahəŋ* to *ahəb*. At Gbeog, for instance, there are two homesteads occupied by the sons and grandsons of a Gorogo man who came to live with his mother's brother and settled there when the latter paid the bride-price for his first wife. In ritual matters these men still belong to Gorogo. They keep the totemic taboos and funeral customs of Gorogo. When there is a death in their families their Gorogo clansmen come to bury the dead and celebrate the funeral. When the Great Festivals arrive they join with their Gorogo clansmen in celebrating them. But in another two or three generations it is quite possible that their lineage will become an established accessory lineage of Gbeog.

The corollary to the foregoing is that a person's patrilineal kin do not forfeit their rights over him merely because he has grown up in the care of his mother's brother. These rights are often jealously guarded. For example, Nabil, a lad who lived with his mother's brother, one day killed a hare. Instead of delivering the carcass to the head of his own nuclear lineage, as he was bound to do by custom, he brought it home to his *ahəb*. The latter divided the bulk of it amongst the constituent segments of his own inner lineage and sent only one hind-leg to Nabil's 'father'. His reaction was an indignant protest, backed by the other

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

members of his inner lineage, at what he called the deliberate flouting of his rights as *biiraan*, owner of the child. A long squabble between the two lineages followed which eventually petered out in a compromise. This may seem a storm in a teacup; it was taken very seriously by a dozen Tale elders.

The outstanding example of the retention of patrilineal rights is found in the case of a girl who grows up at her *ahəb yiri*. Whatever her personal relations with her father's lineage may be, it is they who receive the placation gifts and the bride-price when she marries. The *ahəb*'s share is only the 'cow of rearing'.

Cases of girls living as foster children at their *ahəb yiri* up to marriageable age are uncommon. I knew of only one girl who was living with her *ahəb* and would probably not be taken back by her father's people before she reached marriageable age. A girl living with her mother's brother is usually there because she was sent to her maternal grandmother in early childhood owing to the death of her mother. She may be left there until she is 11 or 12, but she is then generally fetched by her father's people. A boy has more freedom. He cannot be forced to return to his paternal home if he does not wish to do so.

An interesting reflection of the conventional ideas on the relations of an *ahəb* and his foster *ahəŋ* is found in the story commonly told of how certain politico-ritual offices came to be transferred from one clan to another. The tale is so stereotyped that it can be regarded as a standard myth.[1] It is alleged of several of the lesser chiefships that they were originally vested in different clans from those that now hold them—usually clans that are closely related to the present holders by local or ritual ties. The last chief of the original line, the myth relates, had his sister's son, a member of the clan now holding the chiefship, living with him. The chief put great trust in his *ahəŋ*; and, either because he had no sons or because his sons were indifferent to politico-ritual affairs, the chief always delegated his *ahəŋ* to represent him. Thus, he used to send the *ahəŋ* as his messenger whenever he had to communicate with the senior chief who was the elector to that chiefship. In this way the *ahəŋ* became known to the elector. When his *ahəb* died he hastened stealthily to the elector with the news, taking lavish gifts along with him. Knowing him so well from their previous contacts and persuaded by the rich gifts he brought, the elector thereupon immediately conferred the chiefship on him. Thus the chiefship came into the possession of its present holders. A similar story is told to explain the dominant position of the lineage of Lakum yiri in the politico-ritual structure of Ba'ari, in spite of their being an attached lineage.[1]

When it is pointed out that such actions are contrary to custom and would not be allowed at present, the natives have two answers. Firstly, they say, unscrupulous people never hesitate to break a customary rule

[1] *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 88.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

The Ritual Relations of Matrilateral and Sororal Kin

We have previously observed that the distinguishing attribute of an *ahɔb* in Tale thought is that he sacrifices on behalf of his *ahɔŋ*; and *ahɔŋ* in this context includes all sororal kin, both those who are strictly *ahɔs* and those who are strictly *yaas*. This is an indication of the importance attached to the ritual relations of extra-clan kin.

As with all the social relations of mother's brother and sister's son, their ritual relations vary in frequency and degree according to their genealogical distance. Thus a male *ahɔŋ* is obliged to send a ready cooked fowl to be 'set out (*zien*)' in commemoration of his *ahɔb* when the latter's funeral is being celebrated. A child of 3 or 4 will have the fowl sent in his name by his parents; a man of substance might, as a special gesture of affection and respect, send a sheep instead of a fowl. No *ahɔŋ* would fail in this duty where his true mother's brother is concerned. I have known men who were small children when a mother's brother died, and whose parents omitted to send fowls to the funeral in their name, make up for it years later on the occasion of a funeral in the family of their *ahɔb*. Not infrequently, men will voluntarily send a fowl or a sheep as a tribute to the funeral of a father's mother's brother. But it is exceptional for such a tribute to be offered at the funeral of a more remote 'mother's brother'.

When a man sacrifices to an ancestor spirit, any descendant of that ancestor has the right to be present and to share in the sacrament. The only exceptions are the cult of the clan or maximal lineage *bɔɣar* and, among the real Talis, the cult of the Earth and of the External *Bɔɣar*. It would be incompatible with the functions of these cults as foci of social integration on the highest level of corporate structure to allow non-members of the lineage concerned to take part in them. But an *ahɔŋ* may attend domestic sacrifices to any of his matrilateral ancestors and sacrifices to the founding ancestor's shrine (*bɔɣar*) of the lineage of his true or classificatory mother's brother.

If a man proposes to make a sacrifice to one of his immediate antecedents (say, his father or grandfather), and if he is going to sacrifice anything larger than a fowl or guinea-fowl (say, a goat or a sheep or a cow), he is in duty bound to inform his sisters. He is not bound to tell his deceased sister's sons, but he generally does so, particularly if it is so important a sacrifice as a cow. A cow is seldom sacrificed to a shrine of lesser standing than a lineage *bɔɣar*. Hence when such a sacrifice is planned, the man who is making it should, in theory, inform all the sororal descendants of the lineage. He does not actually do so; he informs his own sisters' sons and his father's sisters' sons and leaves it to the other members of the lineage (who will, of course, automatically be present) to inform their close *ahɔs* if they wish to. But news of such a sacrifice travels fast owing to the complex interweaving of kinship ties,

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

and few people who have an interest in it escape hearing of it in advance. It is the same with funerals. Close extra-clan kin of the dead are informed; distant extra-clan kin, unless there is some special reason for sending them a message, find out indirectly.

An *ahəŋ* is not obliged to attend a sacrifice at his mother's brother's house (*ahəb yiri*); but if it is an important sacrifice, or if it is being made by his own mother's brother, he generally makes an effort to be present. Again, an *ahəŋ* whose home is near to that of his *ahəb* will be more likely to come than one who lives farther away. Thus, as has been recorded, Barimoda seldom missed a sacrifice at his true mother's brother's homestead which was very close to his own. Yinworəb, on the other hand, did not attend a single sacrifice at his mother's brother's house at Yinduuri during the year he was with me. It must not be thought, though, that a sacrifice at one's *ahəb yiri* is considered to be of no consequence. Tallensi say they would always go if they could, for their matrilateral ancestors have powers of blessing only little less than their agnatic ancestors; but it is not compulsory when the sister's son is not himself bringing the sacrifice. As every man has shrines consecrated to those of his matrilateral ancestors who have revealed themselves as directly concerned with his life, in his own home, he generally attends sacrifices at their lineage home only on special occasions or when they command him to offer sacrifice there.[1]

Thus when a man performs a private sacrifice in his own home a close sister's son or two may be present; it would be most unusual to find an *ahəŋ* more distant than a father's sister's son present. But in the majority of such private sacrifices, judging from the several score I have witnessed, sisters' sons are not in attendance. When, however, a cow is sacrificed to a lineage *bəyar*, there are always *ahəs* present: perhaps only one, perhaps half a dozen, including both near and distant sisters' sons.

As we have mentioned before, the right of a sister's son to be present at ritual ceremonies at his mother's brother's house is recognized by the allocation to him of a prescribed share of the sacrificial meat. He receives the neck of every animal sacrificed. One of the lighter moments at the end of a major sacrifice is the good-humoured wrangling of a group of

[1] We are here touching on one of the most complex features of Tale religious custom. The shrines consecrated to a man's matrilateral ancestors in his own homestead provide him with an indirect route to them. When he sacrifices to them on these shrines, he is, as it were, approaching them through an intermediary spirit or group of spirits. He is never able to approach them directly. Only their agnatic descendants can do that. Generally a matrilateral ancestor spirit (male or female) who has a shrine consecrated to him or her by a daughter's son or descendant demands sacrifices on that shrine. But there are many occasions on which the spirit demands that the sacrifice be offered to him or her directly on the shrine consecrated to him or her at a son's or agnatic descendant's house. It is on such occasions that the 'sister's son' or 'grandson' has to take the animal he has been commanded to offer to the homestead of his 'mother's brother' or 'grandfather'. See below, p. 324.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

604 764 571 funerals, comes because of the social importance of the occasion. The funeral of a section or maximal lineage head is of exceptional public interest. It marks the end of a phase of lineage history and the beginning of a new phase, involving realinements in the social relations of many people and probably of all segments of the clan. That is why every branch of the dead man's clan, representatives of related clans, and many matrilateral and sororal kinsmen come to take part in the funeral.

63 571 602 782 For similar reasons the ceremony by which the *bɔyar* of a lineage of a high order, such as a medial lineage or a maximal lineage, is formally taken over—'inherited (*vaa*)', as the natives put it—by a new lineage head is also attended by many 'sisters' sons' and 'grandsons' of the lineage and the clan. This ceremony marks the re-establishment of the structural equilibrium of the lineage around a new lineage head after its temporary disturbance by the death of the previous lineage head. It is an event of special importance for reaffirming the bonds of lineage solidarity and of kinship amity—for renewing, in the presence of their founding ancestors, the covenants of clanship and of kinship. All the males of the lineage, including the small boys, and representatives of all the other segments of the clan attend; and extra-clan kinsfolk from far and wide are present. I have counted as many as thirty, ranging from the full sister's son of the new lineage head to a distant 'sister's son', whose matrilateral ties with the clan went back to the founding ancestor of his maximal lineage, at such a gathering. Though it is a festive occasion, the attraction of food and drink is unquestionably of minor significance. Only two or three sheep, at most, are sacrificed, in addition to a large number of fowls; but every adult who attends is expected to bring a fowl to be offered to the *bɔyar* on his behalf. 'Sisters' sons' and 'grandsons' take special pride in offering their fowls, for this is the essence of the sacrament. An atmosphere of great goodwill and fellowship prevails, suffusing the most solemn moments of the sacrifice itself.

793 602 It is very much the same with the installation ceremonies of a newly appointed tendaana or other holder of a politico-ritual office. Extra-clan kin, clansmen, representatives of linked clans and of ritually associated clans, all come in great numbers to the ceremonies, bringing fowls, dishes of cooked food, baskets of grain and of ground-nuts, and other voluntary gifts to congratulate the new chief or tendaana and to testify to their kinship bonds with him and his clan. These ceremonies are, in effect, simply an elaboration of the ceremony of 'inheriting' a lineage *bɔyar*. Their significance is the same, but in a heightened degree, corresponding with the wider social sphere to which they refer. 'Sisters' sons' and 'grandsons' closely related to the new chief or tendaana are as proud of his elevation in status as are his close agnates.

604 769 778 This is one aspect of a man's ritual relations with his 'sisters' sons'

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

778 will henceforth bring blessings upon him, too, from time to time. And
787 if he becomes a diviner the erstwhile persecutrix becomes his bene-
769 factress. The *bakologo* becomes a source of income instead of a standing menace.

613 As has been mentioned before, a divining shrine is set up for the man
769 it has 'reached (*paa*)' by his matrilateral lineage from which the domi-
778 nant ancestress of the complex came. For example, Pal-Zəŋ's *bakologo*
791 ancestors consisted of his father, paternal grandfather and great-grand-
father, and the latter's mother, who was the dominant figure of the group. She had been a daughter of the Gbambee Tɛndaana's maximal lineage. Zəŋ, therefore, had to go to the present head of this maximal lineage to arrange for the setting up of his *bakologo* shrine. Taking a fowl, a guinea-fowl, a basket of grain, and a pot of beer, Zəŋ went to the Gbambee Tɛndaana to lay his request before him. The tɛndaana sacrificed the two birds to his lineage shrine (*bɔɣar*) on Zəŋ's behalf, explaining in his invocation to his ancestors the occasion that had brought their *ahəŋ* to plead with them. He ended with the customary exhortation to the ancestors that they should bless the setting up of the new *bakologo* shrine, assist Zəŋ to become a successful diviner, and grant him prosperity, children, and health. He finally 'scooped' (*fiŋ*) the lineage *bɔɣar* for Zəŋ. That is to say, he put a little of the sediment accumulated at the bottom of the pot, which is the most important part of the paraphernalia of a *bɔɣar*, into a tiny pot for Zəŋ to take home to add to his new *bakologo* shrine. In this way the direct continuity of the new *bakologo* shrine with the matrilateral lineage *bɔɣar* is tangibly symbolized.

Next evening a party from Gbambee arrived at Zəŋ's homestead to perform the ceremony of actually setting up the new shrine. The party consisted of the Gbambee Tɛndaana's own son, representing his father, and several other members of his maximal lineage; for though the immediate responsibility for the ceremony falls on the head of the lineage, the whole lineage is concerned in this ritual service to their *ahəŋ*. At Zəŋ's house they found a number of members of his inner lineage and clan as well as three *ahəs* of Zəŋ's inner lineage. The ceremony lasted all night. The details are not relevant here, and it need only be said that it consists of a series of ritual episodes with interludes of conviviality and hilarity. It is one of the paradoxes of the *bakologo* complex that the setting up of a divining shrine is one of the least solemn of Tale ceremonies.

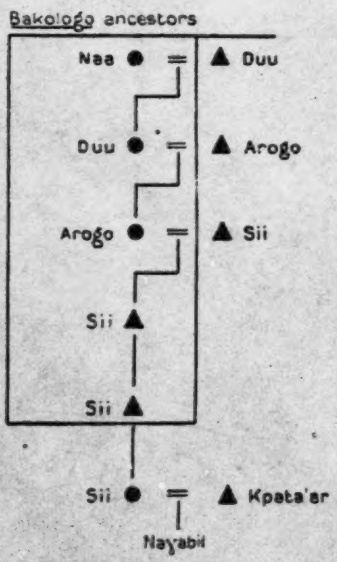
769 The ancestors associated with Zəŋ's *bakologo* comprised a fairly simple
•602 combination. Naabdiya's *bakologo* ancestors consisted of his mother's father, *his* mother, and *her* mother. It was the clansmen of the last who came to set up the shrine for their 'grandson' (*yaaŋ*) Naabdiya. To reach them Naabdiya had first to go to his mother's brother's people; they escorted him to his maternal grandfather's mother's brother's

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

lineage, and thence he was escorted to his maternal grandfather's mother's mother's brother's lineage. At each place he had to sacrifice a fowl and a guinea-fowl to the lineage *bɔɣar*. Nayabil's *bakologo* ancestors were his mother's father, *his* father, *his* mother, *her* mother, and *her* mother. Zɔŋ knew of the ancestress who was the dominant figure in his *bakologo*. He had been to Gbambee to attend sacrifices to the lineage *bɔɣar* as an *ahɔŋ*, both as a child, accompanying his father, and as an adult by himself. Naabdiya and Nayabil had never heard of the ancestresses who dominated their *bakologo* shrines before they revealed themselves as *bakologo* ancestresses. They had never before been to the natal clan settlements of these women; and once their divining shrines were established would probably never go there again.

One reason for this difference is spatial proximity. Zɔŋ lives about three miles from the Gbambee Tɛndaana; the matrilateral kinsmen who set up Naabdiya's shrine live about twelve miles from him, and those who set up Nayabil's shrine nearly fifteen miles from his clan settlement. But more important is the genealogical distance involved. Zɔŋ is considered to be a fairly close *ahɔŋ* of the Gbambee Tɛndaana, Naabdiya and Nayabil count themselves distant 'grandsons' (*yaas*) of the matrilateral kinsmen who thus almost accidentally became socially relevant for them.[1]

Though matrilateral ancestors are particularly conspicuous in connexion with the *bakologo* complex, they can be associated with many types of ancestor shrines. Hence few men pass through life without having at least one such experience as that of Naabdiya and Nayabil. Tiezien, for instance, had a magnificent baobab tree outside the entrance to his homestead. It was a stalwart sapling when Tiezien was born and



[1] Nayabil is a Kpata'ar man, and the matrilateral kinsmen who came to set up his *bakologo* were not Tallensi but Mamprusi from beyond the White Volta. This is an interesting illustration of how extra-clan kinship in this part of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast cuts across 'tribal' and political boundaries. As the attached genealogy, showing Nayabil's genealogical connexion with his *bakologo* ancestors and ancestresses, indicates, it is also a beautiful illustration of how matrilateral kinship 'travels' (*kyɛɣ*) through intermarriage between adjacent clans. The result is that genealogical distance by matrilateral ties is closely correlated with socio-geographical distance, as in this instance.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

602 could not have been less than 80 years old. This tree was the centre of
769 the communal life of the neighbourhood. It was, as every native would
778 automatically expect, also an important ancestor shrine. A few years after it sprouted Tiezien's paternal grandfather discovered through a diviner that his mother's father and *his* mother, a Pusunamoo woman, had chosen the baobab as their shrine. The Pusunamoo woman's maximal lineage consecrated it for Tiezien's grandfather. Thereafter sacrifices were regularly offered on the tree. In due course Tiezien succeeded to
[164] the custody of this shrine. Then came the influenza epidemic of 1918. Many people died at Kpata'ar, including members of Tiezien's inner lineage and wives and children of the lineage. A diviner revealed that these deaths were being inflicted by the Pusunamoo ancestress in retaliation for long neglect. She demanded that Tiezien should collect a large number of fowls from all the members of his inner lineage and take them to Pusunamoo to be sacrificed to the lineage *bɔyar* of her medial lineage as an atonement. This was Tiezien's first and last contact with his matrilateral kin at Pusunamoo up to 1936.

602 It is evident, from these examples, as has been previously suggested, that the majority of a man's remote matrilateral kin are not socially relevant for him. All, however, are potentially so and may become so at some time or another; and when they do enter his field of social relations it is chiefly in their ritual capacity.

602 We said that the most important ancestor shrines linking a man to a
778 matrilateral lineage are *bakologo* and *bɔyar* shrines. Of the two the *bɔyar*
769 shrine is, in fact, the more important. As we have shown in our earlier book,[1] the ancestor cult of the Tallensi culminates in the conception and cult of the *bɔyar*. This notion and the cult that expresses it form the centre of gravity of the lineage system. Hence it seems strange, at first sight, to find that every *bɔyar* must necessarily be derived from a matrilateral lineage. We can understand this, however, if we consider the significance of the *bɔyar* in the lineage system.

602 A *bɔyar* is the shrine consecrated to the founding ancestor of a lineage
778 and his mother. It symbolizes the identity of that lineage and its dif-
789 ferentiation from other lineages of the same order within a more inclusive lineage or within a clan. A lineage expands by a process of internal
613 segmentation and differentiation that follows the lines of cleavage inherent in the structure of the joint family.[2] The component segments of a lineage are differentiated from one another primarily by reference to their descent from different 'mothers'—that is different wives of their common founding ancestor. But a woman does not sever her ties with her lineage when she marries and becomes a mother; and in kinship questions Tale thought is dominated by the lineage concept. Hence Tallensi think of a lineage progenitrix not only as such-and-such a

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 137.
[2] Ibid. ch. xii.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

named person but also, and chiefly, as a member of such-and-such a clan and lineage. When Tallensi discuss the internal structure of a maximal lineage what they emphasize is the clan and lineage origin of the several 'mothers' of its segments.

When a new segment begins to crystallize out in any lineage, it requires a *bɔɣar* of its own to symbolize its identity. And since its genealogical distinctness comes from its progenitrix, its *bɔɣar* must come from her lineage. This is simply a consequence of the fact that the notion of the *bɔɣar* is a ritual conceptualization and sanction of the singularity, as well as of the unity and the continuity of the lineage. A new lineage segment can only arise, among the Tallensi, by derivation from an existing lineage. It is, one might say, a rearrangement within the existing social system, and does not represent a breach of continuity. The *bɔɣar* symboiizing it is, similarly, an offshoot and replica of an existing *bɔɣar*. To put this in another way, a person's status (i.e. the sum total of his rights and duties in relation to Tale society at large and to all the other members of the society) is at bottom determined by his or her descent, as we have previously shown. When he becomes an ancestor spirit his mystical attributes and powers are not absolutely autonomous arising solely from the fact that he begot sons and then died. Whatever their real psychological roots may be, in Tale religious thought these attributes and powers belong to an ancestor spirit because when he died he 'went to join his forefathers (*kyɛŋ paag u banam*)' and because he represents his whole line of ancestors in a particular situation or context. Hence every ancestor shrine either is or in course of time becomes the altar for a group of lineally related ancestors and ancestresses, never for one ancestor alone. A shrine consecrated to a particular ancestor is *ipso facto* consecrated to his agnatic descendants that come between him and the owner of the shrine. Sacrifice is offered and prayer addressed to the whole sequence of ancestors, in order of ascent; for the more remote ancestor can only be approached through the less remote. This principle is well illustrated in the examples of *bakologo* complexes quoted earlier. It applies to both patrilineal and matrilateral ancestors. Even when a man sacrifices to his own father's or mother's spirit he invokes them to 'attend with all their forefathers (*ba dɔl ni ba banam waabi*)'. Conversely, when an ancestor intervenes in his descendant's life he can only do so through the medium of those who came between him and his descendant.

It would take us too far afield to discuss all the evidence of the significance of this principle in Tale religion. One more item must suffice. According to Tale thought, an unnatural death is one that is shown by divination *not* to have been mystically caused by the ancestors. The physical cause of the death makes no difference to the issue. A person may die of old age; if none of his ancestors claim to have caused his death, this is a sign that he was not 'human (*nimvoo*)'—that is a full social being. He was a disguised bush-sprite. He is not given human burial,

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

he does not join his forefathers, he does not become an ancestor spirit. This shows that it is not the fact of death that turns a person into an ancestor spirit but the fact that, as Tallensi believe, he is summoned (*buol*) by his ancestors and goes to join them.

Thus when a lineage progenitrix becomes an ancestor spirit, she does so as the bearer of mystical powers and attributes that reside in the collective body of her lineage ancestors, symbolized and made accessible to man in their lineage *bɔyar*. Looked at in this way, too, the *bɔyar* consecrated to her and her son must be an offshoot of her lineage *bɔyar*.[1]

In addition, there is the obvious point that a segment of a lineage cannot symbolize its distinctness by means of a *bɔyar* derived from their own lineage *bɔyar*, which is the symbol of the genealogical and social unity of the lineage, not of its internal differentiation. The lineage *bɔyar*, as is evident, is the most esoteric symbol of the principle that runs right through Tale social structure, that social differentiation within the lineage framework springs from maternal origin. This principle operates in lineage structure;[2] and we have seen how, at the other end of the scale, it constitutes the springboard of individual differentiation in the structure of the joint family.[3] This is a further instance of the consistency of Tale social structure at all levels conferred upon it by the kinship system.

A new segment of a lineage begins to crystallize out as a recognized corporate unit in the time of its founding ancestor's grandsons. For it is not until then that the process of fission in the lineage has gone far enough to separate his grandchildren and his brothers' grandchildren into distinct nuclear lineages. Thus it is a man's grandson or great-grandson who sets up a *bɔyar* consecrated to him and his mother. According to the idiom of Tale religious thought, the ancestor demands that a *bɔyar* be set up for him and his mother. A day is appointed for the ceremony, and all the descendants of the progenitrix, through both males and females, are informed. In the morning or early afternoon the head of the new segment takes a fowl, a goat or sheep, and a pot of beer to the head of his grandmother's inner lineage, or in some clans, medial lineage. The men of that lineage assemble so that all of its branches are represented and the animals are sacrificed to the lineage *bɔyar* on behalf of the *ahɔŋ*. Then the *bɔyar* is 'scooped' for him, in the same way as was described in the case of the diviner's shrine. The *ahɔŋ* goes straight

[1] In theory, obviously, the only lineage *bɔyar* that need not be derived from another *bɔyar* is the *bɔyar* of a maximal lineage. Actually most maximal lineage *bɔya* conform to the pattern we have described. The only truly sovereign *bɔya*—i.e. *bɔya* not derived from other *bɔya*—are the External *Bɔya* of the Talis and their congeners. And it is significant that the component maximal lineages of these clans generally have two *bɔya*, one the domestic representative of the External *Bɔyar*, the other a distinctive *bɔyar* derived from their founder's mother's lineage. Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. vii.

[2] Ibid., ch. xii.

[3] *Supra*, Ch. III.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

home, where in the meantime the other members, both men and women, of the new segment and the 'sisters' sons' and 'grandsons' of the segment who have been able to come have gathered. The head of the new segment arrives, followed, as the Tallensi think, by the spirits of his grandmother's ancestors. He now performs the sacrifices by which the new *bɔɣar* is consecrated. He himself offers a sheep. All the other male members of the new segment bring a fowl each to be sacrificed on their behalf and *ahɔs* and *yaas* all do so too. A large pot or earthenware dish, inside which the small pot containing the sediment 'scooped' from the grandmother's lineage *bɔɣar* pot is placed, forms the altar. Henceforth this will be the *bɔɣar* of the new lineage segment; and there will be a similar communion rite embracing all the descendants of the founding ancestor and his mother whenever the *bɔɣar* is inherited by a new lineage head.[1]

We have now considered the most important ritual services matrilateral kin render to their sororal kin. The ritual services rendered by sororal kin to matrilateral kin are, as might be expected, of far less consequence. In funeral ceremonies, for example, there are a number of rites in which it is necessary to have the participation of an *ahɔŋ* of the deceased. The rite of cooking 'the porridge of sisters-in-law (*pɔɣakiis saɣabo*)', which has been previously mentioned, is typical of these rites; and it is typical of them, also, that anybody who can, by any stretch of the term, be described as *ahɔŋ* can serve in them. All these rites express the fact that a person's death is of concern to his or her sororal kin as well as to his or her patrilineal kin, and affects the field of social relations of the former as well as that of the latter. Hence in all funeral rites a special portion of the meat, cooked food, and beer used is allocated to the 'sisters' children', whether few or many are present. Matrilateral and sororal kin do not, however, undergo mourning rites.

Apart from funerals, there are one or two other special ceremonies in which the services of an *ahɔŋ* are needed. Thus in the ceremony of exorcising an evil Predestiny (*Yinbe'er*) an *ahɔŋ* is required to perform the final act of sympathetic magic. This consists in collecting the magical paraphernalia used in the ceremony—all of which symbolize the wish that the evil Predestiny may depart and conceal itself for ever—and throwing them away in some barren spot. A 'sister's son' is called upon

[1] There is a point of religious doctrine that cannot be fully discussed here but must be mentioned to avoid confusion. Every important ancestor shrine is a means of making a whole line of ancestors accessible to its possessor. Now the collective mystical power of a patrilineal line of ancestors reposes in the lineage *bɔɣar*. Hence every important shrine has to be linked up with the lineage *bɔɣar* of the dominant spirit to which it is consecrated. That is why when a *bakologo* is set up, the *bɔɣar* of the matrilateral lineage from which it is derived is 'scooped' for inclusion in the new shrine. Broadly speaking, the ritual validity of every ancestor shrine goes back to a *bɔɣar*. But the setting up of a new lineage *bɔɣar* is a very special ritual landmark.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

602 789

to do this service because, as a kinsman of the sufferer, he naturally wishes to see him free of his evil fate. He is held to desire this the more strongly because his *ahɔb* sacrifices on his behalf. Hence his welfare depends on the continued life and the perpetuation of the lineage of the *ahɔb*, both of which are threatened by the evil Predestiny. Lastly, he is specially suitable because a complete stranger might use the opportunity to do the sufferer magical harm, while a patrilineal kinsman of his might be contaminated by the evil Predestiny. Again, anybody who can be identified as an *ahɔŋ*, in however remote a classificatory sense, may be asked to perform this service.

The Father's Sister

604

We have left the discussion of the relationship of father's sister (*ba-pɔk*) and brother's child (*bii*) for this chapter, although it is not a relationship of extra-clan kinship. Father's sister and brother's child are members of the same clan and lineage. But Tallensi associate the father's sister with relatives outside the clan. This is due to her marrying out of the clan, to her having no significant public voice in the affairs of the lineage, and to her being unable to inherit lineage property or ancestor shrines.[1] Thus a native usually compares his relationship with his father's sister to his relationship with his mother's brother, not to his relationship with his parents. It is thought of more as the opposite of the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother than as an item in the scheme of intra-familial or intra-lineage relationships.

[429]

As in the case of mother's brother and sister's child, the bond between father's sister and brother's child tends to be more effective for brother's sons than for brother's daughters. In the case of the brother's sons it is reinforced by the ties a woman has with her paternal lineage and by the ties her children have with their mother's brother and his sons. In the case of brother's daughters, it is attenuated because the daughters tend to be dispersed by marriage and their relationship with their father's sister is much more a purely personal affair.

Compared with the mother's brother, the father's sister (*ba-pɔk*) counts for little in the web of extra-clan kinship. Tallensi say this is because she is a woman. 'It is not she who sacrifices for you but you (her brother's son) may one day sacrifice on her behalf.' At the same time they declare that 'she is your father'. I have several times had an old woman introduced to me by a man or a woman as 'my father'. Eŋwala, explaining her affection for her full brother's son, Anaaho, said in the stock phraseology, 'Is he not my child? If you and your brother together have a child, is he not also your child [as much as your brother's]?

[1] Except, as has been mentioned before if she is the last surviving member of the lineage. Even then she does not inherit the ancestor shrines but merely sacrifices to them, as if she were acting on behalf of her deceased father. She can never inherit lineage land.

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

own family. She may, as an act of grace, give some of this food to her husband or to a co-wife with whom she is on friendly terms; but she is not compelled to do so. A junior householder thus augments the food supply for his own wives and children. If he comes into possession of a large amount of grain by his own exertions he will generally make a present of a small quantity to the head of the unit to which he belongs; but, again, this is an act of goodwill, not an obligation. A kind-hearted head of a compound may occasionally present a meagre dish of grain to the wife of a younger head of a self-supporting unit, if they are obviously on the verge of starvation; otherwise, self-supporting units in the same compound never assist one another with grain, in the ordinary course of events.

There are other more incalculable means by which food is brought into the household and family. Cereals are sometimes obtained during the hunger months by women from their paternal kinsmen. A marriageable daughter, again, means a succession of suitors bringing gifts of money, guinea-fowls, and various other comestibles to her mother. Wild sources of food are fully exploited. Fruits of the shea-tree (*ta'ay: butyrospermum parkii*) save many a family from the worst straits of hunger, as does the pulp of the dawa-dawa (*doo: parkia filicordea*) pods. These trees have an enormous economic value, as will be evident later. The baobab-tree (*to'o: adansonia digitata*) has a fruit with a floury, sweetish pulp which is relished much as sweetmeats are by ourselves, and its leaves are used to make soup. It is generally found as a shade-tree outside a compound, and women readily get permission from the head of the compound to pluck the leaves. Leaves of the local elm (*nuom: celtis integrifolia*) are also used for soup.[1] Some grasses and fungi serve this purpose too, and small children, who are adepts at foraging for themselves, can often be seen out in groups collecting them.

From the table quoted above it will be seen that one man, on the average, supports himself, 1·2 women, and 1·2 children, over the age of infancy—roughly 3·4 people; but it is clear from the sociological outline given above that any such estimates hold only very approximately in view of the many supplementary sources of grain supply,

[1] We have seen elm-trees in *toybans* (sacred groves) and in the bush (where of course, any one can pluck the leaves) but not as shade trees in front of compounds.

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

discriminatory responses to real situations, and linking it up with other patterns of behaviour and with norms of observance. The total pattern is not built up brick by brick, like a house, but evolves from the embryonic form.

A simple demonstration of this principle is provided by a child's learning to dance. A favourite amusement of women with infants just beginning to walk is to let them dance. The tiny tot, barely able to maintain an upright posture for ten minutes or so, is set up on its legs. A couple of women—usually the women of a homestead play with an infant thus when they have no work on hand—calling out to it, with laughter and warmth, 'Come on, dance', begin to sing and clap a dance rhythm and execute a few steps. Tale infants respond with every sign of pleasure to such stimulus and by the age of about 3 have learnt, in a sketchy and diagrammatic but specifically recognizable way, the rhythms and the main steps of the festival dances. The 6-year-old has advanced so far that he or she can sometimes join the real dancing of the adolescents. His sense of rhythm is accurate, he learns the songs quickly, and he has the pattern of the dance clearly. But his dancing is extremely crude still. It tends to be mechanical and monotonous, completely lacking the improvizations and variations, the delicate tracery of step and gesture with which the skilled adult fills out the formal pattern. Every year improves the child's style, but even the adolescent has not yet perfected his or her technique. Yet from babyhood to maturity dancing ability grows continuously.

A child's knowledge of the kinship structure evolves in the same way. The schema, rudimentary and unstable as yet, can be detected in the 3–4-year-old. He or she discriminates kinsfolk from non-kinsfolk, equating the former mainly with people living in close proximity. He knows his own father and mother precisely, but already calls his mother's co-wives 'mother'. Similarly, he knows that 'father' is his own father, but that other men—in the first instance those of the same joint family—are also 'fathers', and he knows that the other kinsfolk frequently seen are brothers, sisters, grandfather, grandmother. But he is still incapable of discriminating genealogical differences; he groups people by generation and by spatial proximity. Thus an adult brother may be described as a

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FEIT Tallensi FE11

867 'father'. A child learns the fundamental kinship terms and has the
601 idea of distinguishing its relatives according to generation and
602 genealogical distance long before it can couple this knowledge accurately with differential behaviour towards kinsmen. The 6-year-old knows the correct terms and appropriate behaviour defining its relations with the members of its own paternal family and has grasped the principle of classification according to descent. But in practice he still confuses spatial proximity and relative age with kinship, beyond the limits of his own family. The 10–12 year old has mastered the schema, except for some collateral and affinal kinsmen, the terms for whom are known though he cannot describe the relationships.

183 Biological drives and cultural motives combine to produce variations
856 in the rates of evolution of different schemas. I have not the experimental data to give accurate or even sample norms, but a rough indication is possible. If the 6-year-old is compared with the 12-year-old in respect to e.g. knowledge of the kinship structure, of agricultural processes, of ritual, and of sex life, the 6-year-old is least advanced in knowledge of the kinship structure and ritual, and most advanced in his or her knowledge of sex life, while knowledge of agricultural processes could fall somewhere between these two levels.

V. Fundamental Learning Processes

153 In the course of the preceding discussion I have given several indications of how Tale children are taught and learn. But our investigation would be incomplete without a special consideration of the three fundamental processes utilized by the child in its learning —mimesis, identification, and co-operation. These are not the only learning techniques observable among the Tallensi, but they are the most important; and they usually appear not in isolation but in association with one another. They are most intimately interwoven in play, the paramount educational exercise of Tale children.

153 *Mimesis.* Writers on primitive education have often attributed an
828 almost mystical significance to 'imitation' as the principal method by which a child learns. The Tallensi themselves declare that children learn by 'looking and doing'; but neither 'imitation' nor the formula used by the Tallensi help us to understand the actually observable process. Tale children do not automatically copy the

6: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

pool, sips a little, and passes the rest to his co-adjutors. These, who are all members of his own paternal family, and may number as many as twenty men, have been treated with the medicine at home—they eat a little mixed with millet porridge, and smear a little over the solar plexus. Then he plants the axe shaft firmly by the water-side, thus symbolically pinioning all dangerous creatures and men and setting up the fetish in closest proximity to its scene of action.

Before anyone not magically protected can enter the water, however, the pool itself must be rendered safe. From a small gourd the officiant gives a little medicine to each of several of his younger co-adjutors. Taking the medicine in their mouths they wade into the pool in a line. Every few minutes they scoop a handful of water which they take in the mouth and squirt out, this way and that; and as they wade, or in the deeper parts swim, they cry out "emerge, emerge, vanish, vanish," to expel crocodiles and other dangerous fish. They traverse the whole pool, watched with close attention by the crowd of fishers, who begin to press forward restlessly. But if anyone dares to step into the water, he is immediately rebuked by the owner of the pool who stands on a high vantage point watching the progress of the boys in the water.

As the boys approach the bank, the suspense of the waiting multitude is at its highest. The owner must give the signal for the general descent into the pool; but he may suddenly burst into an harangue, reminding the people of his ancestral and chiefly rights of ownership, warning them against fighting, and threatening anyone who conceals his catch or otherwise cheats him of his legitimate tribute. Even kinsmen[1]—sisters' sons, brothers-in-law, and so forth—must not abuse the ties of kinship by hiding the fish they catch, he commands.

Then he gives the signal. "Descend," he calls out and the men pressing round him surge into the water with a shout which becomes an exhilarating wordless chant. On every side the chant is taken up and the men sweep into the pool holding their nets aloft. The chant soon subsides but is taken up every now and again in the course of the afternoon. Behind the men follow the women, more soberly and silently; the outermost circle consists of small boys and girls, more bent on play than on serious fishing. The men press forward, in a solid but irregular mass. The bolder spirits, who are able to swim, venture into the deepest parts. The boys who went in to spray the pool magically had been carefully watched, so that everyone knows exactly how far he can go with safety. Indeed in one pool the precaution was taken of sending four good swimmers in to test the depth before the magical rites were performed.

[1] The Tallensi are patrilineal—patrilocal, but cognatic relationship is conspicuously recognised. Members of the owner's joint-family and lineage, who will eventually receive a share of the tribute (see below), have no motive to hide their catch. Clansmen are bound by the rules of ownership of the pool like any stranger but the owner's kindred and affines trade on their personal relationship to him to get away with their catch.

6: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

The principal disputes, however, concern the tribute due to the owner of the pool. Morally his rights are beyond question and are never denied. But except for members of the owner's immediate family, who will eventually receive a share of the tribute, a moral obligation of this sort counts for nothing in practice without effective sanctions. Hence the owner sees to it that members of his family are dispersed amongst the crowd in the water. These young men keep a sharp watch and do not hesitate to take by force the fish which they regard as their rightful tribute. The owner himself often enters the pool to assist in the police work. Those who contest the confiscation of their fish do so in vain. Not only will public opinion not support them, but the owner's "policemen" would not hesitate to give them a drubbing. A maternal kinsman, sister's son, or in-law relation of the owner is, however, allowed to keep his first fish, unless his catch is large, in virtue of kinship. This is a concession which the owner might also make to his personal friends, and not a right.

One obligation, by contrast, is never evaded. Young crocodiles are sometimes caught, and the owner of the fetish is entitled to the hind legs and tail of every crocodile caught. This is the perquisite of his *bayar* one part of which, the hoe shaft, will be covered with the skin of a crocodile tail thus delivered to him. Not only is it very difficult to conceal the capture of a crocodile, but the supernatural penalties of evasion—certain injury from a crocodile in a future fishing expedition being the least of them—dare not be risked.

Fishing continues thus from about 1.30 p.m. to 4 p.m., or in a well stocked pool, to 5 p.m. The exodus commences sporadically. People who had earlier in the day been cutting hoe shafts or rafters, collecting firewood, or medicinal herbs, come out first to complete these tasks. Finally, when only a few remain in the pool, the owner of the fetish goes down to pull up his *bayar*. As he does this, he shouts to those remaining to come out. The removal of the axe shaft is the signal that the fishing is over.

The catch in such expeditions varies greatly. The tribute received by the owner of the pool may be taken as a rough index of the catch. In the three expeditions in which I participated the owner's tribute varied from six to fifteen medium and large fish. The last pool was exceptionally prolific and was fished on two successive days. I estimated the number of men—men only fished on the first day—at about four hundred; on this occasion the catch was declared to be enormous, surpassing all expectations. Few people left empty handed. But on the other hand, nobody had more than four medium or large fish, which would be taken home and divided up within each man's immediate family. The best proof of the paucity of the catch relative to the population fishing and of the valuation of fish as a delicacy rather than as an addition to the food supply, was that throughout the fishing month fish caught on these expeditions never appeared for sale at the market.

Clearly too, communal fishing does not benefit the owner of the pool much materially. However large his tribute, the net gain to himself is small since he distributes much of it to others—men of rank and elders who attend the fishing as an expression of clan loyalty